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A HANDBOOK

OF

Greek and Roman Sculpture

BY

EDMUND VON MACH, PH. D.

Author of "Greek Sculpture: Its Spirit and Principles,"
"Outlines of the History of Painting," etc.

To Accompany a Collection of Reproductions of Greek and Roman Sculpture

(THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS)

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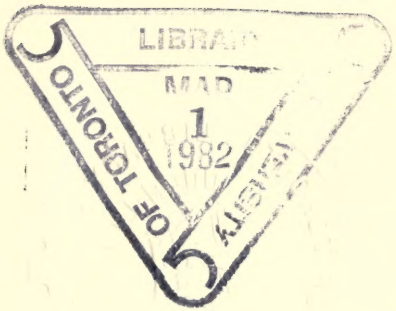

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BY

EDMUND VON MACH

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TO

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON

LOVER OF BEAUTY

INSPIRER OF MEN

THIS BOOK

IS DEDICATED

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PREFACE.

This collection offers, on five hundred plates and forty-five text illustrations, the most important remains of Greek and Roman sculpture. Supplementary collections may be issued in the future as they become necessary and are asked for by those who use this series.

The plates have been made from original photographs especially imported by the Bureau of University Travel. In a few cases, where original photographs were inaccessible or where better results could be obtained from large plates or photographs in the possession of Harvard University, this has been done, and thanks are due to the proper authorities for the permission to use them. A small number of plates are copied from books. The plates are not "retouched." Where the backgrounds seem to have been painted black this is the defect of the original photograph.

In the classification the editor has aimed at clearness, believing to serve the student best by enabling him to find instantly the desired pictures. He has, therefore, often deviated from the general rule of giving in the several groups, first the statues of men, then those of women, and finally the reliefs and other temple sculptures. In the fifth-century group, for instance, the individual artists have been treated separately. In the sub-divisions, whenever possible, the alphabetical order has been followed. Where two or more pictures are given on one plate, the most important one has been printed in its proper place in

the catalogue, while a reference to the other has been inserted where it would naturally belong. Thus Plate 92 contains one metope from the temple of Zeus in Olympia and one from the Theseion in Athens. A reference to the latter appears after Plate 130. Statues which are popularly known by wrong names are listed under these names as, for instance, the so-called Ilioneus, Plate 227; but a note is attached to it in the catalogue or printed in the discussion of the statue in the Handbook. Doubtful or erroneous, although popular, names are printed in quotation marks.

Part Ten — Portraits — is the least complete part of the collection, especially as regards Roman portraits. This had to be so, because the number of extant Roman portraits is so large that even a fair selection from them would have been out of proportion to the other parts of the book. No attempt, therefore, has been made to give portraits of all men of note. The aim rather has been to select statues and busts which illustrate the development of portrait-sculpture, irrespective of the persons portrayed.

In Part Eleven — Heads — the specialist may miss some favorite specimens, but here again the material from which to draw is so large that a rigid sifting process became necessary. The principle followed was similar to that adopted for Part Ten. Heads were included in the list when they illustrated the development of sculpture, and often excluded, although with considerable regret, when their chief claim to attention was based on their pleasing appearance.

No special group has been given to votive offerings because they were, in antiquity, rarely made by the great artists themselves and could, therefore, be more easily

spared from this collection than other monuments. A few of them are listed as reliefs in the several periods.

The Handbook offers a general introduction to the study of the monuments. The necessity of treating them separately precluded the systematic discussion of principles, for which the author has been obliged to refer the readers to his earlier book — *Greek Sculpture, Its Spirit and Principles.* The limited space which could be given to the several statues and reliefs made it necessary to state facts as they presented themselves to the author without in every case adducing the proofs on which they depend. In small type, therefore, references to the most important books or articles in learned journals are given. These references are not complete, because that would have been a waste of time and space. They are intended as introductions to the fuller bibliography of given subjects, the books and articles mentioned containing references to other publications. No references are made to the ordinary textbooks,[1] because their complete indexes enable the reader to find easily the desired information.

In all cases the author has intended to bring the bibliography up to date, so that, in future, by collecting material from the excellent "Archæological News" and "Archæological Discussions" of the *American Journal of Archæology*, the users of this Handbook will always be abreast of the times.

Grave Reliefs, Portraits and Heads (Parts Ten, Eleven and Twelve) could not be treated with the same attention to details as the other monuments, without making the

[1] They are included in the general bibliography on p. xxxv.

Handbook too large to serve its purpose. The author was, therefore, obliged to confine his remarks in these parts to the barest outlines of the subjects, trusting that he may at some future time find the opportunity of treating them according to their deserts.

The author has refrained as much as possible from refuting erroneous views. Only when such views have gained currency in popular books has he felt obliged to attack them and to show their errors.

Much attention has been given to accurate statements of the provenience and the restorations of the monuments, and with unfailing persistence the neglect of museum authorities to publish them has been noted.

In the case of marble statues, most recent books state the kind of marble of which the statues were made, Pentelic, Parian, Carrara, etc., basing their remarks on the investigations of Lepsius. The author has often had occasion to doubt the accuracy of these investigations, and has, therefore, refrained from quoting them. He is strengthened in his view by the opinion of modern geologists, who believe that it is impossible to say definitely from which quarry a piece of marble has been taken.

One of the most pleasant duties of the author is to express his appreciation of the enthusiasm of Professor H. H. Powers, the president of the Bureau of University Travel, whose liberality has made the publication of this collection possible. The assistance of Miss Minnie May and Mr. Rossiter Howard, with their cheerful attention to details, has been invaluable and a source of great personal satisfaction.

The author finally wishes to record his deep sense of gratitude to the man, whose name by permission appears

on the dedication page, and who for many years has boldly fought the battle of spirit against matter. Recently men have dared to affirm that even art should be studied "scientifically," with the spirit left out. May the name of Charles Eliot Norton preserve the reader from this fallacy!

EDMUND VON MACH.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

February, 1905.

HANDBOOK OF

Greek and Roman Sculpture.

Part One.

The Mycenæan[1] Age.

The recent discoveries in Crete, which promise to shed new light on the civilization generally called Mycenæan, are of such far-reaching importance that a thorough discussion of Mycenæan art seems ill-advised before all their results are published. But so busy are the excavators in unearthing new monuments that they have at present little time for collecting their material in exhaustive treatises.

Most historians accept as true the Greek tradition of a Dorian invasion, dating it approximately from 1100 B. C. to 1000 B. C. This event, they believe, marks the end of a civilization of great splendor, distinguished by an unfailing love of the beautiful.

The first rich finds[2] of its art were excavated on the citadel of Mykenai in 1876, and came as a surprise, because scholars then believed that the Greeks before the seventh century,

[1] This is the accepted spelling. The word is derived from the name of the ancient city of Mykenai.

[2] Dr. Schliemann, who excavated Mykenai, had previously conducted excavations on the island of Ithaca in 1868, and in Hissarlick in 1873.

B. C., had been all but savages. Assuming that Mykenai with its beautiful monuments was a solitary exception, they called the civilization there revealed Mycenæan. To-day it is known that this civilization covered a large area and flourished in other places, for instance, on Crete, earlier than in Mykenai. Different names have, therefore, been suggested, such as Aigean or Mediterranean, but there are objections to all of them, and in consequence the term Mycenæan is still the almost universal favorite.

The date of the beginning of this civilization is uncertain. It belongs in the early second or the third millenium before Christ. Some investigators place it still farther back.

Architecture, painting, and the minor arts flourished, while sculpture was not popular, and, as the few remains indicate, was practiced only on rare occasions and by men whose training fitted them better for work along other lines. The great staircase of the palace of Phaistos[1] in Crete, Plate 1, the Throne Room of the palace of Knossos, Plate 2, and the Gateway of Mykenai, Plate 3, are samples of the impressive and noble grandeur of Mycenæan architecture.

The gold cups from Vaphio, Plate 8; the ornaments, Plates 9 and 10; and the mask[2] of a bearded man of thin gold leaf, Plate 4, indicate the perfection to which the goldsmith's art was carried, and the last also the lack of that knowledge of the bodies of men which the sculptor needs. The low plane on which sculpture was is seen in the three idols in the British Museum, Plate 6.

The relief in the Museum in Candia on Crete, Plate 5, which is of uncertain date, is added here, because the char-

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[1] See Halbherr, *Mon. Antichi*, 1902. [2] For another head from Mykenai, discovered in 1896, see *Ephemeris*, 1902, pp. 1ff., Plates 1 and 2.

ioteer, his horses and his dog running along with them, reproduce types known from much cruder grave-reliefs[1] in Mykenai. The two warriors in the rear are superior to any sculpture found in Mykenai and carry shields unlike those[2] known there.

Plate 7 reproduces two painted metopes from Thermon,[3] which show their relation to Mycenæan art in the spiral decorations of the borders of the garments and in the rosettes on one of them, Plate 7b, similiar to those on Plates 9 and 10. Their state of preservation is remarkable, so that they are better able to indicate the proficiency of wall-painting in the Mycenæan Age than the few fragments of such paintings in existence to-day.

The chief interest of these figures, however, is the similarity which exists between them and some later Greek sculptured monuments, especially two metopes from Selinus.[4] Herakles, Plate 47b, carries the Kekropes in the same way as the man, Plate 7b, carries his booty; while the motive of the other painted metope, Plate 7a, of a man cutting off (or having cut off) the head of another figure, occurs again in Selinus, Plate 47a. The half kneeling position, indicative of rapid running, Plate 7a, is copied perhaps in the figure of Medusa, Plate 47a, and certainly in the Flying Figure from Delos, Plate 32. The shape of the wing on the shoe, Plate 7a, is identical with that on the back of the ankle of the Delian figure.

Such correspondences are not accidental. They indicate that even during the "Dark Middle Ages of Greece," which intervened between the fall of the Mycenæan civilization and

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[1] See P. Gardner, "Sculptured Tombs of Hellas," figs. 18, 19, and 20. [2] For Mycenæan shields see Tsountas and Manatt, "The Mycenæan Age," pp. 191ff. [3] Discovered in 1889; *Ephemeris*, 1903, pp. 71ff., Plates 3 and 4. [4] The Greek spelling is Selinous.

the rise of historic Greek sculpture, more than the mere memory of past glories survived. Actual mementoes, however, were probably as few as the inherited love of things beautiful was strong. Certainty on this point is impossible, for as yet these centuries are very dark, the only ray of light being shed by the Homeric poems. The civilization which the poems portray is a mixture of the traditional splendor of the past and the existing conditions in the time of the poet.[1] Homer is, therefore, no safe guide to the understanding of these "Middle Ages," except in so far as his poems prove that even in his time there were people who loved the beautiful well enough to conceive noble thoughts and to appreciate them when they were expressed.

Short Bibliography of Mycenæan Art.

Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenæan Age.*

H. R. Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, with bibliography, pp. XXXIff.

William Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece.*

Important Articles.

A. J. A., Series I, Vol. I, No. 3; Series II, Vols. I, pp. 313ff.; IV, pp. 490ff.; V, pp. 230 and 315ff.; VII, p. 243.

J. H. S., XIV, pp. 81ff.; XVI, pp. 77ff.

Rev. Arch., 1897 (30), p. 143, fig. 2; (31) Pl. XX; 1899 (35) pp. 16ff.; 1903, pp. 149–153.

Jahrbuch, 1889, IV, pp. 119ff.

Class. Review, 1902, p. 137.

Journal of Royal Institute of British Architects X (03), pp. 97–106, and the recent numbers of the *Monumenti Antichi* and the *Annual* of the British School at Athens.

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[1] Or poets. The question whether Homer wrote the Ilias and the Odysee, or whether these poems are the joint works of many men is still unsettled.

Part Two.

Archaic Sculpture.

The period of Archaic Greek Sculpture is one of exploration. The artists strove to gain clear perceptions of the subjects worthy of representation, laboring to understand them and to master the intricacies of the several materials [1] in which they worked. Some of their types were bound to disappear, because they were unworthy or unsuitable for corporeal representation; but the majority of the early creations are valuable as bearing the germs from which the later masterpieces grew.

The lover of things beautiful may find little to admire in this period, which is, nevertheless, one of the greatest importance. During the two centuries (about 650-480 B. C.) which it lasted those achievements were accomplished, or at least the foundations for them were laid, which distinguish Greek Art from all other arts of the world. Every kind of *sham* was forbidden. Simplicity was sought, truth was worshipped, the accidental was not admitted, and throughout, only those subjects were carved, the worth of which was inherent and not dependent on perfection of execution. The first aim of the true Greek

[1] For a discussion of the several materials and the demands they made on the artists, see E. von Mach, pp. 91ff.

was to discover, "What is worthy?" the second, "What is the best way to carve it?" Almost all other nations invert this order; skill first, and discipline last, if at all.

Of the artists themselves we know little. A few names stand out clearly; Daidalos, partly a mythical personage, Endoios, Smilis, Achermos, Antenor, and others,[1] but it has been found impossible to identify, with certainty, any extant statues as their works.

Judged by the statues and reliefs now in our museums, the archaic sculptors, as a class, tower head and shoulders above their contemporary vase painters. The unmistakable borrowing of the minor arts from Egypt and the Orient, and a certain accidental resemblance between early Greek statues and a certain Egyptian type, has led many to believe in a similarly close connection between Greece and Egypt in sculpture. The inaccuracy of this view, however, so self-evident to the art student, has recently been conclusively proved.[2]

The most satisfactory survey[3] of the archaic period concerns itself, first with the figures in the round, and then with reliefs. And since the drapery of women — men were generally represented nude — added another distinguishing feature, male and female figures are best treated separately.

Statues of Men.

PLATE 11a. Grave Monument of Kitylos and Dermys. Of yellowish brown limestone. National Museum, Athens. From Tanagra, Bœotia. Robinson, No. 6; Robert, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1875, pp. 151ff.; Körte, *Athen. Mitth.* III, 1878, pp. 301ff.; Reinach II, 109, 1.

[1] For these artists see Gardner, pp. 98ff. [2] E. von Mach, pp. 86ff.

[3] The customary division in Dorian and Ionian sculpture is ill-advised. Best account, Gardner, pp. 133ff. Argument against it, E. von Mach, pp. 104ff.

This is the best preserved of a number of Bœotian grave reliefs, and offers excellent indications of the earliest type of the so-called Apollo statues, Plates 11b ff. The two figures are not cut loose from the back and are, therefore, technically speaking, in high relief. They are, however, designed in the round without reference to the background. The clumsy arrangement of the arms, the almost incredibly faulty anatomy, and the visible inability of the maker of this group to overcome even the slightest difficulties, stamp him as a very unskilled stonecutter. He was far behind his time, as is proved by a comparison of his work with the fragmentary stele of Agathon and Aristokrates (*Athen. Mitth.* III, Pl. 15). Both monuments contain inscriptions which show that they are of about the same time, but the Agathon stele is by far the better of the two.

The same lack of skill that characterizes the Kitylos and Dermys group was doubtless to be found in the earliest creations of the "Apollo" type, however superior the "Apollos" may have been from the beginning in conception. None earlier than the "Apollo" of Thera, Plate 14, have been found, but if any were extant, we might expect to see in them no opening between the arms and the torso, just as is the case with Kitylos and Dermys.

Another important similarity between this group and some of the now lost first "Apollos" is probably contained in the formation of the knees. The legs in all the early statues are broken away, but in the "Apollos" of Tenea and of Melos, Plates 14 and 13, in which they are preserved, we find a very prominent muscle over the knee.[1] The beginning of this muscle, wrongly conceived, is also seen in the Kitylos and

[1] For the importance of this muscle see E. von Mach, pp. 115ff.

Dermys group, where some scholars have erroneously believed they saw the bones of the knee represented.

At the time when the Kitylos and Dermys monument was made, more accurate knees could be carved; while the fact that the background was preserved ought to have enabled the stonecutter to cut the arms loose from the body without danger of having them break off. That he nevertheless did not do so, but carved what we believe, with a fair amount of certainty, to have been characteristics of the earliest "Apollos," suggests that it was his intention to copy this type. It is therefore possible that in this monument we have two of the very earliest statues preserved to us.

PLATE 11b. "Apollo" of Orchomenos. Of grayish stone. National Museum, Athens. Dicovered on the site of the ancient Orchomenos. E. von Mach, pp. 113ff., Pl. 4, fig. 4; Robinson, No. 21; F. W., No. 43; Reinach II, 76, 11.

PLATE 12. "Apollo" of Thera. Of very coarse marble. National Museum, Athens. Parts of the neck are restored. E. von Mach, pp. 110ff. Pl. 4, fig. 3; Robinson, No. 20; F. W., No. 14; Reinach II, 76, 10.

PLATE 13. "Apollo" of Melos. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Discovered in 1891, on the island of Melos. Feet restored. Reinach II, 76, 1.

PLATE 14. "Apollo" of Tenea. Of rather coarse, probably Parian, marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Discovered in 1846. The arms and legs were badly broken, but only the middle of the right arm is modern. The head, which, when found, was protected by a large urn placed over it, is in a perfect state of preservation. E. von Mach, Plate facing p. 80, pp. 110ff.; Furtwängler, *Cat.* No. 47; Robinson, No. 22; F. W., No. 49; Reinach II, 76, 2.

PLATE 15a. "Apollo" from Mt. Ptoos. Of Bœotian stone. National Museum, Athens. Gardner, Fig. 24; Reinach II, 76, 7.

PLATE 15b. "Apollo" from Mt. Ptoos. Of Bœotian stone.

National Museum, Athens. Gardner. Fig. 25; Reinach II, 77, 4 (without head and fragment of right arm) or 81, 4 and 5.

PLATE 16. "Strangford Apollo." British Museum, London. Found on island Anaphe (according to Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology*, p. 81), and brought to England by Viscount Strangford. Below life size. E. von Mach, Plate 4, fig. 3. pp. 110ff.; F. W., No. 89; Robinson, No. 23; Reinach II, 81, 6.

These seven statues are the best representatives of a large group of male figures known as "Apollos." In ancient literature we are told of a statue of this god thus represented, and most of these figures have been found in or near old sanctuaries of Apollo. Pausanias, on the other hand, describes the monument of an athlete which must have looked much like the "Apollos," while the Tenean figure, Plate 14, was found on a grave, obviously intended to represent the dead. The question whether these statues are gods or men is, therefore, an open one; but where certainty is impossible, it is advisable to retain the familiar name, putting it in quotation marks or adding a "so-called."

The gradual growth of accuracy of conception, and also of skill, is splendidly illustrated in these seven statues. In all of them, except the Orchomenos "Apollo," the artists have, apparently, done their very best. Even the Theran figure with its shortcomings appeals to us. The honesty and the simplicity of its conception, and the proud assurance of the artist, who knew that he would meet with a public able to understand him, is noteworthy. Not by contortions, nor unnatural or unexpected positions, has he sought to attract the attention of the spectator. He has introduced pleasing lines where his subject permitted it, as in the contours of the arms, but he has disdained the trick of some Egyptians, of many Orientals, and of not a few modern artists, of twisting the members of

the human body from their natural positions,— for the sake of the resulting beautiful lines.

The exact forms of the bodily members he did not comprehend. The trunks of the figures are especially inaccurate, and the features very unreal. Even where the artist knew better, his mastery over his material was too slight to permit freedom of execution. He was afraid of the heaviness of the stone in which he wrought. The neck had to be thickened and to be assisted by the flowing hair in order to support the head. The arms were hardly detached from the body. But glancing along the row of these figures, we note how every successive artist dared a little more; first, the Ptoon Apollo, Plate 15a, and then the Orchomenos figure, Plate 11b, then those from Melos and from Tenea, where only the hands are connected with the body by means of long ridges. These ridges, in Plate 14, have given way to small blocks, and in the Strangford Apollo, Plate 16, even the blocks have disappeared. A similar advance shows in the treatment of the hands and also in the general anatomy of the bodies. Only the features remain comparatively the same. This is not surprising, for they were meaningless to the early Greeks who had not yet learned to read in them the soul. The very idea of soul was foreign to their thoughts, and was to remain so for several more generations.

There are differences, to be sure, in the faces of these seven statues. Some have eyes that slant inward, Plates 12 and 15b, others have the eyes almost on a horizontal line, Plates 14 and 15a. Some mouths are straight, Plate 15a, in others both lips curve evenly, Plate 12, while in still others there is an approximately straight line where the lips meet, with only a pleasing curve for the edge of the lower lip, Plates 14 and 16. The characteristic qualities of the eyes and of the mouths, and especially their inter-relation were not under-

stood. The artists had yet to learn that what we call the beautiful eye is the eye *plus its surroundings*. The same is true of the mouth. Cheek and chin in nature are not meaningless masses, modelled at will by the sculptor at one broad sweep; they are most delicately constituted transmitters of even the slightest action on the part of either eyes or mouth. The ignorance of these facts led to some rather perverse practices in the oldest Greek sculpture. A cut in a certain part of the face meant a mouth. The lines which bound it were the lips. And these, their individuality being ignored, offered to the sculptors excellent opportunities for the exercise of fancy. At times a good, almost an expressive mouth was carved, at others a pleasing eye resulted; but both were accidents. If they had not been so, they would have been found in the same statues, the expression of the one enhancing that of the other, but this is rarely the case.

The curve of the mouth has made people believe that the Greeks desired to give to their statues a pleasing expression, that is to say, that they intentionally carved a smile.[1] This is a mistake. The archaic artists never thought of the expression of the face in the modern sense of the word. If there is a pleasing line encircling the mouth, it is there for the pleasure it gives to the spectator. Later, when the true essence of the lips was understood, less freedom was granted the artists, but it is noticeable that from the very beginning, the liberties which the artists took, were generally within the limits of what is naturally probable.

PLATE 17a. Apollo Philesios (?). Small bronze statuette after Kanachos, called the Payne-Knight Apollo. British Museum, London. Very small bronze statuette, probably correctly identified by means of descriptions (Pliny *N. H.*, 34, 75) and coins (see Overbeck, *Kunstmy-*

[1] For the so-called archaic smile see E. von Mach. pp. 154ff.

thologie des Apollon, pp. 23ff., and the table of coins I. No. 22ff). Reinach II, 80, 9.

PLATE 17b. Bronze Statuette from Ligourio. Berlin. Furtwängler, 50; *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin. Waldstein, *J. H. S.*, 24, (1904), pp. 130ff.; Reinach II, 85, 1.

The importance of these two statuettes is based on different grounds from those of the preceding numbers. In Plate 17a most scholars see the copy of a very old work by Kanachos, a famous sculptor of Sikyon, while Plate 17b has been said to have some connection with the work of Ageladas, an artist of Aigina.

The first identification has much in its favor. It is based on a description of the Kanachos statue and on a comparison of the statuette with coins representing it.

The second is one of those "brilliant discoveries" which dazzle the student without throwing sufficient light on the subject to overcome subsequent doubts.[1]

Irrespective of their "identifications," these statuettes are invaluable as showing the greater freedom of pose and of execution which bronze permitted, as compared with marble. The arms need not be "glued" to the body, as was the case in the contemporary "Apollo" statues.[2] A glance at Plate 17a and then at the "Apollo" of Tenea, Plate 14, gives a clear indication of how much of the latter figure is due to limitations of skill, and how little, comparatively, to limitations of conception.

The Ligourio statuette belongs to a somewhat later day, when the anatomy of the body was more clearly understood.

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[1] The *pro* and the *contra* in this case are contained in the literature given above.

[2] Overbeck I, p. 145, calls the London bronze archaistic, that is, made in late Greek times in imitation of earlier works.

It marks an advance even over the Strangford "Apollo," Plate 16, although the side views of both figures are somewhat alike, with a sharp angle at the small of the back, and the erect head supported by the neck without any assistance of the hair.

PLATE 18. "Apollo" Piombino. Of bronze. Louvre, Paris. Found in the sea near Piombino in Tuscany. Height, three feet, four inches. For the active discussion as to its genuineness as archaic Greek see bibliography in Müller's *Handbuch*, paragraph 422, note 7. Best discussion, Overbeck I, pp. 234ff. Reinach II, 84, 9.

Owing to two inscriptions on this statue, possibly of later date, the genuineness of this "Apollo" as an archaic Greek work has been doubted. Overbeck, however, has conclusively proved its ancient origin. The extremely delicate feet resemble those of the "Apollo" of Tenea, Plate 14, and are unlike the clumsy feet of later imitations; while the structure of the knee is similar to that found on the marbles from Aigina, Plates 78ff., which are admittedly influenced by the contemporary bronze workers.

The delicate contours of the back, in contrast to the apparently straight front, are in keeping with the Tenean figure, Plate 14, while a further point of contact with that statue is found in the position of the hips, slightly too low to be accurate. The small head and the long legs are characteristic of the archaic period, although they reappear in later works. The Belvedere Apollo has the same long legs, but for a special purpose.[1] The pose of the figure is characteristically archaic, both feet firmly planted on the ground, with the point of gravitation exactly between them.

The statue may represent an "Apollo" with attributes not unlike those of the statue by Kanachos, Plate 17a, which ac-

[1] E. von Mach, pp. 308, 309.

cording to Pliny, held a fawn on one hand and a bow in the other. Overbeck's interpretation, however, is probably more correct. He says the Piombino figure represented a boy assisting at a sacrifice, with a cup in his left hand and a saucer in his right.

PLATE 19. The Calf Bearer. Of bluish marble. Probably from Mt. Hymettos near Athens. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Discovered on the Akropolis 1864-1865, the base in 1887. Overbeck I, pp. 187ff.; F. W., 109; Robinson, No. 7, whose date for the statue (early sixth century), is undoubtedly wrong.[1] Overbeck's date (about 536 B. C.) is based on the inscription on the base and is probably correct. Reinach II, 551, 1.

The motive of this statue is a familiar one in ancient sculpture. Reinach II, pp. 551ff., gives nearly two dozen instances. Kalamis had represented Hermes in this fashion (Pausanias, 9, 20, 4), and a similar monument of a man named Biton is known from ancient literature.

This figure doubtless represents Kombos, who, according to the inscription, dedicated the statue, and is not a Hermes Moschophoros (calf bearer), by which name it used to be known. It is one of the few instances from Greece proper, where men of this period are not represented nude. The sacred occasion required the addition of a garment. A draped male figure, however, was not included in the figures the artist knew how to carve. He has, therefore, designed his figure nude, adding only a few lines to indicate the heavier folds, and trusting, on the whole, to the application of color.[2] The garment is clearly carved only below the left elbow.

The doubts in the Attic origin of this figure are ill-founded. The provenience of the marble is no conclusive proof, for a

[1] Robinson also calls the calf a bull.

[2] For the coloring of Greek statues see E. von Mach, pp. 67ff.

foreigner might have worked in Athens. There are, however, several indications which point to an Attic workshop. Chief of them is the ear, which is exactly like the ear of the Aristion stele (see below), and that of the head of the Discus Carrier stele (see below), both Athenian works. The ear of a figure is a minor, but a very intricate, part. It lends itself to a schematic treatment, and as long as no portraits were carved, the artists wrought the ears according to the habits acquired in their schools. The close resemblance, therefore, between the ear of the Calf Bearer and the later Athenian works may be used as a valid argument.

A few additional indications of the Attic origin of the statue are found in its technique, which resembles somewhat the still earlier Poros sculptures of the Akropolis, Plates 40 and 41. The erroneous date for the statue, early in the sixth century (Robinson), is due to an undervaluation of the difficulties that marble offered over the softer Poros. Nothing is more instructive than a visit to the Akropolis Museum. Stepping from the Poros Sculpture Room into that of the early marbles, one feels at first as if one had stepped back one whole generation in the development of sculpture. The thoughtful student, however, soon realizes that this is not the case. He has learned how to distinguish between halting skill and inaccurate conception, and keeping this distinction in mind, he realizes that the seeming step backward, is due to the difficulties of the new material, and not to a retrogression of artistic conceptions.

For the detailed study of the Calf Bearer, it is interesting to note the excellent connection of the body of the calf with that of the man, the skill shown in carving the head of the calf, and the customary absence of accurate conceptions in regard to the human features; further, the mistaken lines of the front leg of the animal, and its excellent hind quarters and

hoofs; the muscular arms of the man[1] and his delicately modelled abdomen; the beard which is simply blocked out to receive the paint, and the hair, which, in the simplicity of the locks over the forehead, stands in strong contrast to the fanciful curls of the flying figure from Delos, Plate 32. On his head the Calf Bearer seems to wear a skull-cap, unless this seeming cap was once painted in the semblance of hair. The mouth is very interesting, while it is difficult to judge of the eyes in their present appearance. The eyeballs, made of a special material, were inserted in the sockets, and are now lost.

Supplementary Reading and References for Archaic Male Figures.

1. For the "Apollo" figures in their relation to the spirit and the principles of Greek Sculpture, E. von Mach, pp. 109ff.

2. For an inscribed base of an "Apollo" with only the feet preserved, *A. J. A.* I, Pl. x.

3. For an alabaster figure, resembling the "Apollo" type, from Naukratis, *Jahrbuch* VII (1893) p. 180. Kieseritzky's view that this statue speaks in favor of the Egyptian origin of Greek Sculpture is not well taken.

4. For a somewhat more advanced type see the statue Sciarra, now in Copenhagen, Overbeck I, pp. 238ff., figure 62.

Statues of Women.

PLATE 20. Statue from Delos. Of rough marble, dedicated by Nikandre of Naxos. National Museum. Over six feet in height, including the base. Overbeck I, pp. 95ff.; Gardner, p. 121; Reinach II, 645, 1.

In no other extant figure, has the artist been so completely the slave of his material and of the conventional shape[2] of his block, as here. The block was like a plank of wood, thicker

[1] For the arms cf. Stele of Aristion, (below). [2] E. von Mach, p. 109.

only at the very base, so that not even the face projects beyond the plane of the breast and of the lower part of the figure. The waist does not recede, and is cut in only at the sides. Owing to these peculiarities, Brunn (quoted by Overbeck, p. 95) believed that this statue reproduced one of the earliest wooden images. Such wooden statues were of two kinds, 1, round, carved from a trunk (look at "Hera" of Samos Plate 22) and 2, rectangular, carved from a plank.

Against Brunn's view we may assert that it would have been irrational to carve a statue from a plank, when the round trunk was just as handy. It is, therefore, more probable that rectangular wooden statues are influenced by stone sculpture than that they have left their traces in figures like the one from Delos, for it is reasonable enough to suppose that the first blocks of stone which were quarried were thin and rectangular.[1]

The Delian statue, moreover, stands near the beginning of Greek Sculpture. It is difficult to see in it the result of a prolonged experience in carving, and for this reason, if for no other, it ought not to be considered to be an imitation of a technique which had already run its course.

Drill holes in the hands point to the fact that this is the goddess Artemis carrying her attributes, bow and arrow. In view of the now lost attributes, it is, however, impossible to be certain on this point. The fact that Artemis was worshipped in Delos speaks in its favor.

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[1] An interesting parallel is found in Babylonian-Assyrian art. The country had practically no stone except alabaster. This is very brittle and can be quarried only in thin slabs. One statue, not in relief, is extant, the Assur-nazir-pal in the British Museum. The comparison of the Assyrian figure with the Delian statue is full of suggestions for the student of comparative art. Here it suffices to remark that in the case of the Assur-nazir-pal no one has hinted at a wood original.

The statue was undoubtedly painted. Gardner's suggestion (p. 121) that the hair-dress can only be derived from an Egyptian model is untenable. The same hair-dress appears on the head from Crete (Gardner, p. 134, fig. 18) and on other Greek works. It differs from that of the Tenean "Apollo," Plate 14, only by having strands of the hair fall in front over the shoulders, which was simply an additional precaution against the dreaded weakness of the neck which, so the ancients thought, could not support the head unassisted.

PLATE 21. Draped figure from the Akropolis. Of Marble. Akropolis Museum, Athens. *Musées d'Athenes*, Rhomaides, Pl. x; *Gazettes des Beaux Arts*, 1888, 1, p. 67; Reinach II, 650, 1.

In general appearance, this figure bears an unmistakable resemblance to the votive offering from Delos, Plate 20. Especially noteworthy is the squareness of the lower parts of the statue, where traces of painting show how even the flat surface of the Delian figure could have been transformed to the semblance of drapery. The hair, no longer necessary as chief support of the head, is thinner; only three braids falling over each shoulder. The left lower arm was raised, and, to make this possible, was carved of a separate piece and inserted. The discovery of this very simple device must have come with great surprise to the early artists, who, the slaves of their materials, had felt obliged to keep the arms close to the sides of the body. The flatness of the breast of the Delian figure has given way to two prominent disks, and the nude, where it shows, is modelled with decided vigor. The left arm is in proportions similar to the muscular arm of the Calf Bearer, Plate 19, and to that of the stele of Aristion (below).

The figure is thus marked as an Athenian work. It belongs to a long series of draped female figures found on the Akro-

polis, Plates 25–30, and is, although not one of the earliest, as Gardner says (p. 174), far from being one of the latest.

PLATE 22. The "Hera" from Samos. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Including the now lost head, about six feet high. E. von Mach pp. 105ff.; Robinson No. 38; Reinach II, 647, 1.

An inscription at the side of the statue says that it was dedicated to Hera by Cheramyes.[1] The size of the statue and the fact that it was found near the temple of the goddess makes it probable that it is an image of Hera. Advocates of the theory that early statues are influenced by wood images, see in this "Hera" the reproduction of the second traditional type of wooden statues, those carved from the round trunk. (For the first kind see the discussion to Plate 20). Neither the accuracy nor the inaccuracy of this view can be proved. The arguments used in connection with Plate 20 make it more probable that this is an independent creation.

In nobility of conception and in skill, this statue marks an advance over the figure from Delos. The artist is by no means master over his material, but he shows in the feet, for instance, and in the gesture of the left arm (now broken away), also in the right hand, and in the modelling of the right arm, and finally in the nobly stiff pose, that he is on the way to overcome material difficulties. Lovers of Greek art, satiated with many later statues of the goddess, always return to the "Hera" of Samos with pride and with pleasure.

For the fuller discussion of the many fine points of the figure, for its place in the development of art, for the drapery and the treatment of the back, see E. von Mach, pp. 106ff.

In studying the figure, note especially the feet, and contrast

[1] Cheramyes was a man, and not a woman, as inadvertently stated, E. von Mach p. 105.

them with those of Chares, Plate 36; further, the circular base and how it is met by the garment; the hand supported by the drapery; the absence of braids falling over the shoulder, and the consequently broken head; also the remarkably short waist; and (from a cast) the nail of the middle finger of the right hand.

PLATE 23. Draped Female Figure from the Akropolis. Resembling the "Hera" from Samos. Of marble. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Collignon I, fig. 73; Reinach II, 647, 2.

PLATE 24. Head and Upper Part of Draped Female Figure from the Akropolis. Resembling the "Hera" from Samos. Of marble. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Gardner pp. 114ff.; Reinach II, 648, 10.

In these two pieces we see the further development of the "Hera" from Samos type. Plates 23 and 24 were, like the statue, Plate 21, found together with a large number of other draped female figures on the Akropolis of Athens; but, unlike it, they show no clear indications of Athenian workmanship. In speaking of the Calf Bearer, Plate 19, the importance of apparent details, such as ears, etc., for the classification of statues, was mentioned. Such a detail links the fragment, Plate 24, irrevocably to the "Hera" of Samos. The nail, well preserved in the thumb, corresponds almost exactly to that of the middle finger of the "Hera", while it is altogether different from the nails preserved on a few of the other Akropolis figures, and from those of the Aristion Stele (see below).

The arrangement of the drapery is very similar, if not identical, in the three monuments, Plates 22, 23, 24, while the difference in the execution of the folds is readily accounted for by growing skill. The hair does not fall in braids over the shoulders in any of these monuments, as is invariably the case with the other Akropolis figures. The treatment of the hair

in the preserved head, Plate 24, is unique. The only other hair at all comparable to it is found on a statue (Reinach II, 646, 8) that in every other respect is the exact counterpart of the majority of the Akropolis figures.

The more detailed comparison of Plates 22 and 23 is instructive. In the Akropolis torso, the right arm has a more natural position. The artist felt secure enough to dispense with the bracket-like piece of drapery under the hand. This observation explains for the first time the short waist of the "Hera." In order to support the hand by means of the drapery, the artist had to choose between two evils. He had either to shorten the arm, bringing the hand too near the waist-line, or to shorten the waist. He preferred the latter alternative. And he was right. The shortened arm would have given the statue a deformed appearance.

PLATES 25-30. Fragments of Draped Female Figures from the Akropolis. Of marble. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Discovered during the excavations on the Akropolis of Athens from 1885 to 1891. E. von Mach, pp. 144ff. and 328ff.; Reinach II, pp. 635ff.; colored plates, *Antike Denkmäler* I, Plates 19 and 39, (but see E. von Mach, p. 328); Collignon, frontispiece; *Au Musée de l'Akropole d' Athènes*, H. Lechat. Plate 25a: Reinach II, 635, 3. Plate 25b: Reinach II, 637, 10. Plate 25c: Reinach II, 635, 7. Plates 26a and 26b: E. von Mach, IX, 4, and p. 144. Plate 27: Reinach II, 636, 4. Plate 28: Reinach II, 635, 1. Plate 29: Reinach II, 635, 8. Plate 30: Reinach II, 635, 2.

With the discovery of the series of statues to which these nine belong, a great part of the gap of our knowledge of Greek Sculpture before the Persian wars has been filled. It is true these statues are all of one type, but they show sufficient variety to indicate what kind of work the sculptors were able to do in other directions.

Glancing along the line, we see the artistic conception gradually freeing itself from the fetters of insufficient skill, and the skill itself growing to do justice to the dictates of the artist's design. Finally the skill caught up to the conception, outstripped it, and threatened to do what it has often done before and since — created insipid, conventional works. Every one of the several observations pointing this way (see E. von Mach, pp. 145ff., 156) will prove the case. The hair at first is wrought in the semblance of actual hair, always, to be sure, with a pleasing appearance in view. The artist who carved Plates 25c and 26a had definite hair in mind — note especially the braids. He had forgotten his model when he wrought conventional spirals for locks in Plates 28 and 29, and also when he made the braids, Plate 29, just like the upper fold of the garment of his figure.

For a more detailed study of these figures note:

1. The evident desire on the part of the artist to show the lines of the nude body in spite of the garment (Plate 25c) and the subsequent neglect of everything but the drapery, Plates 27ff.

2. The two styles of representing braids: (*a*) transverse cuts (Plates 25a and 28); (*b*) zigzag lines (Plates 26 and 27). Most of the earlier figures have three braids falling over the shoulders; all the latest have four.

3. The ways of arranging the hair over the forehead: (*a*) in parallel rows from temple to temple (Plates 25a, 26b, 27); (*b*) changing the direction at the sides (Plates 26a and 25c); (*c*) finishing the lowest row differently, generally in locks similar to those on Plate 29; (*d*) in converging rows, no longer from side to side, but from the top of the head down to the forehead (Plate 29), and ending each one in a fancy lock; (*e*) breaking all the rows into such locks (Plate 28), for this style compare the head of Harmodios (Plate 58); (*f*) substituting fanciful spirals for locks (Plate 30).

The intricacies of the garment have recently been fully explained by Kalkmann, *Jahrbuch* XI, '96, pp. 19ff. The figures wear long garments, over which they have thrown little cloaks. Only Plate 30 is without the cloak. This view may at first seem strange, owing to the difference of folds into which the garments fall on the left shoulders and below the cloaks. Kalkmann's arguments, however, which it would be idle to repeat without reproducing all of his illustrations, are conclusive.

Plate 28 represents the largest of these figures. It has been joined to the only colossal base that has been found, and, on the strength of the name of Antenor[1] inscribed on this base, has been assigned to this famous artist. The first group of the Tyrannicides, of which copies are reproduced on Plate 58, was also made by Antenor. That the head of the Harmodios there bears some marked resemblance to the head of this statue from the Akropolis has been pointed out in *Jahrbuch* II, '87, where the two heads are represented side by side on Plate X. The resemblance, however, is not so close that it necessarily implies that both are the work of the same man, and since, owing to the fractures on the base and at the feet of the statue, the union of the statue and of the base is not proved beyond a reasonable doubt, it is impossible to say more than that the statue *may* be by Antenor. To affirm that it *is* by him is straining the evidence.

Most of these statues are in so fragmentary a state of preservation that it is difficult to form an idea of their original pose. Plate 28 gives the best indication of it. Additional suggestions are offered by the late Græco-Roman adaptations of this type.

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[1] See Text Illustration 3.

The statues are probably not images of Athena, as once was universally believed. They may be priestesses.[1] They were destroyed by the Persians in 480 B. C., and were used, together with other "rubbish," as filling material to level the surface of the Akropolis. As these fragments were carelessly thrown down in the hurried work of rebuilding the Akropolis, they received additional fractures. From the fact that these newly broken pieces were lying together in regular order, some scholars have drawn the conclusion that the Athenians had accorded them "honorable burial." If this view were correct, we should expect to find the fragments of entire statues lying together. This is, however, not the case. The Persians were satisfied with breaking the statues off their bases, which was most easily done where they were thinnest, that is to say, at the legs. This accounts for our having found so many upper bodies. What became of the legs and of the bases we do not know. For some reason only a few of them were dumped with the larger fragments.

PLATE 31. Draped Figures of Women from Delos. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. *B. C. H.*, III, VIII, XIII; Gardner, pp. 126-127; Reinach II, p. 638.

These torsi and a number of similar ones were found in Delos during recent French excavations. They bear strong resemblances to the Akropolis figures, Plates 25ff., from which they differ, however, as Gardner has indicated in two points.[2]

[1] For the bearing of the interpretation upon the style of the statues see E. von Mach, pp. 145 and 156.

[2] Mr. Gardner's third point, that the projecting arm in most of them is cut out of the same block with the statue is not well taken. There are, in the first place, many exceptions, and secondly, those, of which he speaks, may have been pieced so skilfully that the joint has escaped his attention.

1. They are remarkably square in shape.

2. They show a peculiar treatment of their very conventional folds. The folds are deep and thin. A saw has been used to make them, as is clearly seen in one case. The importance of this observation lies in the fact that the folds are deeper than is necessary for effect. Make a very thin fold two-sixteenths of an inch deep, and you have all the shadow you can get. You cannot introduce a stronger shadow by carving down to the depth of an inch. No artist working to express his conception wastes his time on tricks that add nothing to the effect. Only men working with little inspiration and along conventional lines do so. In these Delos figures we have, therefore, another proof of the danger which Greek art ran, before the Persian wars, of growing conventional, and of considering skill as of greater importance than deep feeling and artistic design.

PLATE 32. Flying Figure from Delos, erroneously called "Nike of Delos." Of marble, probably Parian. National Museum, Athens. Discovered in Delos, in 1879; the inscription in two pieces in 1880 and 1881, below life-size. E. von Mach, 117ff., 327; Robinson, No. 5; *A. J. A.* IV, '00, p. 343; Kekulé in *Baedeker's Griechenland*, p. 71; Reinach II, 389, 5.

This statue has been added to a base found in Delos in two parts, and, by means of an inscription on this base, has been assigned to Achermos and Mikkiades, two sculptors of the school of Chios. The restoration has met with strong commendation and equally vehement disapproval.[1] Professor Wolters' demonstrations on the original in Athens have convinced the writer of the impossibility, owing to differences in size, of an original connection of statue and base.[2]

[1] For the literature on this subject see Robinson's bibliography to No. 5. [2] E. von Mach, p. 327.

There are fragments of wings on the back and, near the shoulders, in front. The restoration, Text Illustration 1, is correct, with the exception of the left foot, which doubtless touched the base and thus gave additional support to the statue.

Robinson, voicing the opinion of those whom he follows in his catalogue, dates the statue in the seventh century B. C. This would be about as early as — if not earlier than — the earliest "Apollos," Plates 11ff. It needs but one glance at those "Apollos" to convince one of the utter fallacy of this view. There restraint and fear of the heaviness of marble in every line, here courage and a certain amount of almost foolhardy daring. There the arms hardly cut loose from the sides, here one arm following an outspread wing without any support on the body, and the other arm, with an almost defiant gesture, resting with one hand on the hip.[1]

Or contrast this figure with those from Samos and Delos, Plates 20 and 22, the former of which Robinson dates early in the sixth century, although it is about fifty years later. Not to speak of the pose at all, notice the difference in the folds, the leg protruding from the drapery in the Flying Figure, its accurate anatomy and fine modelling, and its single support, disguised as a wing.

And finally, look at the face and the treatment of the hair. Notice the artificial spirals taking the place of curls over the middle of the forehead, and remember the long course of development that had preceded similar spirals in the Akropolis figures, Plates 25–30.

Of all these many points there is not one that does not point to an origin of the statue late in the sixth century, while the seemingly awkward pose by no means contradicts it.

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[1] Compare Oinomaos from Olympia, Plate 84a.

1. FLYING FIGURE FROM DELOS, RESTORED.

2. MARBLE NIKE, ATHENS.

That the skill falls short of doing justice to the artist's intention is not surprising. The man who designed this figure was ahead of his time. Without prototypes to guide him he desired to represent motion,[1] not only on firm ground but through space. He did not know how to do it. The important thing, however, is that he wanted to do it; he thought it could be done, and he actually attempted to do it. Can we believe this of a contemporary of the early "Apollo" figures? Certainly not!

For a further detailed study of the statue the following points are essential:

1. The broad stripe on the drapery, once painted in imitation of embroidery, for which compare Plates 21 and 29, to the former of which the garment bears a rather close resemblance.

2. The upper part of the body is not nude. The drapery is merely close fitting. It was painted in a pattern that had left its traces in an unevenness of corrosion clearly visible when the statue was found.

3. The features: the pleasing mouth, and the difficulty the artist had in "putting it in the face."[2]

4. The adaptability of the figure to an akroterion, as Treu has suggested. Akroteria were the decorations, not always figures, but also large vases and the like, on the four corners of a temple roof and on the two highest points of the gables. The proof of the accuracy of Treu's view is at the same time a proof of the impossibility of connecting the statue with the base.

5. The resemblance of the type of this figure to the

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[1] For the problem of motion, E. von Mach, pp. 116ff.

[2] This is an ancient Greek expression, cf. Lukian *Imag.* 4: Overbeck *S. Q.* No. 768.

so-called Oriental Artemis with wings, as she appears on the bronze relief from Olympia, Text Illustration 5. This makes it probable that the figure from Delos is an "Artemis."[1]

PLATE 33. Bronze Nike. British Museum, London.

The importance of this statuette and of the figure, Text Illustration 2, lies in the daring of their conceptions, comparable, and in one case even superior, to that of the figure from Delos, Plate 32. The Text Illustration 2, bears the same relation to the Akropolis statues, Plates 25ff., as the Delian flying goddess bears to the statue from Delos, Plate 32.

PLATE 34. Athena. Bronze Statuette. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Beaten out of two sheets of bronze joined in the centre, both sides alike, but one reversing the other. Reinach II, 799, 3.

PLATE 35. Athena Promachos. Small bronze statuette. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Reinach II, 285, 8.

In these statuettes two archaic types of Athena are preserved. Plate 34 shows one of the earliest Athenas at rest; Plate 35 shows the same goddess leading her people to victory, "Athena fighting for us," Promachos. The freedom of pose of the latter statuette, remarkable even for bronze (cf. Plate 17), suggests a date not much anterior to the Persian wars. This would make it contemporaneous with the latest of the Akropolis figures, Plates 25-30, to the style of whose draperies its own garments correspond.

The big stride of Athena is unusual, women generally being represented, in contrast to men, as stepping most delicately. This is well seen on Plates 28 and 54. The exception here is due to Athena's following the pursuit of men, — war. The

[1] For a discussion of the name, E. von Mach, pp. 117ff.

fragment on her left arm indicates the now lost shield, while in her raised right hand we may supply the spear.

The other Athena is older, as is clearly shown, first, by the greater restraint of her pose, in spite of the certain amount of freedom in her arm; and secondly, by the excessive care which is bestowed upon her drapery, that is to say, on the accessory rather than on the goddess herself. The technique, two metal plates joined to represent one figure, is remarkable, if not unique. It is probably the survival of a very ancient custom. Diodoros[1] relates a tradition, according to which Telekles and Theodoros of Samos had fashioned the image of Apollo at Samos jointly, so that one half was made by Telekles in Samos, while the other half was wrought by Theodoros in Ephesos. The two halves fitted exactly.[2] This story probably had its origin in works like this Athena, which of necessity, had to be made of two separate parts.

PLATE 36. Seated Figures from Branchidai, near Miletos. Of unidentifiable marble. British Museum. *British Museum Catalogue* I, pp. 16ff., where the inscription on the statue of Chares is reproduced in facsimile. Robinson, No. 36; Overbeck I, pp. 100ff.; Reinach II, 629, 2.

These figures, together with many more, were discovered in 1765, but not before 1858 were those that had not been carried away by the natives removed to the British Museum. They are seven male and three female figures, and, in addi-

[1] Overbeck I, 98. *S. Q.*, 279.

[2] The conclusion which Diodoros draws from this tradition, namely, that the statue was a work in imitation of Egyptian statues, where both halves of the figure were exactly alike, is of course wrong. Even in that style no two artists could have made one statue as here descibed.

tion, two lions, one with an interesting inscription, one male and one female head and a relief.[1]

The seated figures once flanked a sacred way that led from the harbor Panormos to the temple of Apollo, situated in a district that had received its name from the priestly clan that officiated in it, the Branchidai. The temple, which was not far from Miletos, was destroyed by Darius, probably about 495 B. C. From this fact, and from certain peculiarities of the preserved inscriptions, the statues have been dated approximately as between 580 and 520 B. C. Granting that other statues were erected later than 520 B. C., these have now been irretrievably lost.[2] Changes that took place in the Greek alphabet at about 550 B. C. have enabled scholars to divide the extant statues into two groups. The Chares, as he is known from the inscription at the right side of this throne, belongs to the group subsequent to 550 B. C. The suggestion that he is one of the local tyrants who were established after the fall of Kroisos, 546 B. C., deserves attention. The inscription reads, "Chares am I, son of Kleisis, ruler of Teichioussa. The statue is the property of Apollo."

Lübke describes the entire series as follows[3]: "They are sitting stiff and immovable, with their arms pressed against their bodies and their hands resting on their knees. Their proportions are heavy, almost clumsy; broad shoulders, powerfully rounded contours, breasts very high, and in the women very full. The treatment throughout is influenced by a love

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[1] These heads give clear indications of former painting. Neither lids nor eyes recede, their position being marked by slightly incised lines, ready to receive the distinguishing paint.

[2] A suggestion of the style of the now lost statues may be obtained from a seated statue from Miletos now in the Louvre, Paris. Reinach II, 682, 5, and 683, 1. [3] Lübke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, p. 93.

of masses rather than by a feeling for the organic structure of a human body. Fingers and toes, although correctly indicated, are slighted in the execution. The only preserved head [1] shows full, broad, and rounding contours."

Not stopping to note details, Lübke has omitted to call attention to the gradual development that has taken place in these figures. It is most readily followed in the draperies. In the earliest there are no folds indicated worthy of mention. The drapery of Chares follows very much the same pattern, but on the broad masses of the heavy garment actual folds are carved, of which those on the folded strip falling over the knee are the best. In the latest extant figure, Text Illustration 4, the garment follows the lines of the body, it even clings to it, so that the legs have the appearance of being nude. But even this statue is far from being lifelike. What has been correctly said of the Chares also applies to it. "He is doomed to an eternal seated posture; one cannot think of him as getting up from his throne." To see the force of this remark one need only compare him with the seated Athena, Plate 37. For other early seated figures see the Spartan tombstones below.

PLATE 37. Seated Athena. Of marble. Akropolis Museum. Above life size. It is not known where and when the statue was found. It was first seen, and sketched among the debris lying below the north wall of the Akropolis. Overbeck I, pp. 190ff.; Robinson, No. 34; Reinach II, 296, 3.

Although badly damaged, this statue retains the breath of life that distinguished it from other early seated figures, notably the Chares, Plate 36. One instinctively feels that Athena has sat down, and that she can, and will rise again. A slight

[1] Lübke means preserved on the figures; for separate heads see above.

technical device helps this illusion; it is the right foot drawn back. The same device recurs on the East Pediment of the Parthenon, Plate 136, where it is supplemented by a delicate forward inclination of the body. Here the opposite is the case. Athena, as is seen in the profile view, leans back, probably in order to render the execution of a pleasing front view easier.

The right foot is much larger than was the left, only half of which is preserved. This is no accident. The sculptor had observed that objects appear smaller the further they are away from the spectator, but being unaware not only of the subtle principle of foreshortening but also of the allowances which the human eye compels the true artist to make to its peculiarities,[1] he endeavored to correct the defects of vision, but did not know how to do it. His reasoning may have been something like this: "Further objects appear to be smaller than those close at hand. The right foot is further away. Therefore I must carve it larger, so that it may *appear* to be as large as the other foot, for the spectator *knows* the feet to be of equal size." The fallacy of such reasoning is self-evident to the modern student. It is interesting, however, as throwing much light on the gradual evolution of art, from its first beginnings to the present day. First, an appeal to the *knowledge* of the spectator; later an appeal to his *vision*. The sculptor of this Athena still felt it his duty to address himself to the knowledge of his public, although he had begun to study the peculiarities of their vision.

The ægis worn by this statue is very large. Robinson's remark that this is a distinguishing feature of archaic art is hardly correct, as a glance at Plates 34 and 35, and at the many Athena statues reproduced in Reinach, *Repertoire*, Vols.

[1] See E. von Mach, pp. 60ff., 127ff., p. 17ff.

I and II, show.[1] Attached to the holes near the edge of the ægis were writhing snakes of bronze, and on the boss in the centre a Medusa[2] was painted. Noteworthy is the subordination of the chair to the figure sitting in it, which is in strong contrast to the Chares, Plate 36. A similar contrast exists between the East Frieze of the Parthenon and the frieze of the "Harpy" tomb, Plate 53.

The speculation of some writers as to the identification of this statue with an old artist, Endoios, who is said to have made a seated Athena for the Akropolis of Athens, and whose name, inscribed on a base, has actually been found there, is especially idle in view of the fact that it is not definitely known that our Athena statue ever was erected on the Akropolis. It turned up first among debris below the north wall, but how it got there is a mystery.

PLATE 38. Sphinx from Spata. Of marble, below life size. National Museum, Athens. **F. W.**, 103; Kavvadias, 28; Reinach II, 704, 4.

Although the representation of Sphinxes was very popular with the Greeks, it has not yet been possible to explain fully the Greek belief in the existence of such beings.[3] The Sphinx in the legend of Oidipous, uttering riddles, is a solitary and probably later variant. Generally the Sphinx herself was synonymous with the riddles and mysteries of life, the greatest of which is the seeming cessation of it — death. The Sphinx,

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[1] The seated Athena statuette from Delos (Reinach II, p. 296, 4) is especially interesting. The ægis there (not well seen in the picture) is small and straight.

[2] For early Medusa heads see below; for a discussion of Medusa heads, *Rev. Arch.*, 1896, Vol. 28. [3] By far the best account of Sphinxes is given Baumeister, pp. 1688ff.

therefore, is frequently found on grave reliefs. Her traditionally beautiful face was in keeping with the cheerful view of death which characterized the Greeks.

In contrast to the Egyptian Sphinx, which generally is male, the Greek Sphinx, like the Oriental, is female. Her face is always human, but in the rest of her body the animal parts preponderate almost as frequently as the human. Some of her representations, owing largely to the wings of the bird, which are uniformly hers, bear close resemblance to those of the sirens which also appear on grave monuments.

An immediate borrowing of the archaic Greek type of the Sphinx from the Egyptian, following, it is said, upon the foundation of the Greek colony in Naukratis in the middle of the seventh century, is the less likely, as Sphinxes have been found in tombs in Mykenai and in Sparta.[1]

In view of the above observations, it is probable that the Sphinx now in Athens once decorated a tomb. The back and the upper part of the figure are not well finished, pointing to a position on the top of a monument, where the Sphinx was seen from below and only from the front. The face shows a resemblance to the "Apollo" types, Plates 11ff., especially in the eyes, but with everything harsh toned down to great mildness. The mouth reveals the conventional curve,[2] but the expression of the face is one of severe beauty.

Numerous traces of paint were found on this Sphinx, red and dark green on the feathers, brown in the hair, while the outlines of three rosettes could still be distinguished on the diadem, when the statue was discovered.

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[1] *Athen. Mittheilungen* II, pp. 265ff., IV, pp. 45ff.

[2] For the meaning of this curve see E. von Mach, pp. 154ff.

Temple Sculptures and Reliefs of the Archaic Period.

A few of the monuments here discussed, notably Plate 42, Athena and the Giant, are not reliefs, but they, too, are designed to be seen against the background of a pediment wall, and find their place, therefore, most properly with reliefs.

The much mooted question of the priority of reliefs or of detached sculpture in the round is beyond the possibility of a proof either way. Greek reliefs as such have recently received much attention. The mention of a few discussions will suffice; for they again contain references to all the important articles on the subject. E. von Mach, pp. 37ff.; Conze, *Ueber das Relief bei den Griechen, Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie* 1882, pp. 563ff.; T. Kopp, *Der Urspring des Hochreliefs bei den Griechen, Jahrbuch* II, pp. 118ff.

PLATE 39. Reliefs from Assos. Of dark gray Anachyte. Louvre, Paris. Discovered 1838 in Assos. Additional pieces were discovered 1881–1883 by the first American Archæological Expedition, and also in 1896, and are preserved in Boston and in Constantinople. E. von Mach, pp. 66, 133; F. W. Nos. 8–12; Robinson No. 17; *Investigations at Assos*, the official publication of the Archæological Institute of America, Part 1 (ready); *A. J. A.* '97, Plate XXVII and p. 508, fig. 1; Reinach I, 6 and 7.

These reliefs are unique as being sculptured decorations of the *architrave* of a Doric temple. Generally the *frieze* was thus decorated. The date assigned to these reliefs varies considerably, from Friedrichs-Wolters, the seventh century, to Joseph Th. Clark[1] the fifth century later than 479. This latter date is arrived at from a comparison of architectural details with the Theseion in Athens, and is so utterly baseless in view of the style of the reliefs that it has been

[1] In his report of the investigations at Assos, p. 104.

wisely neglected of late. Only Robinson discusses it seriously, although he does not accept it.

The very early date which has had many supporters, is not less inaccurate. The great freedom of action in the scene of Herakles struggling with the "old man from the sea," the skill with which this old man is represented as slipping away, and the knowledge of anatomy revealed in Herakles, all disprove it. It is impossible to think of any of the old "Apollo" sculptors as capable of carving such a work, even if the technique in relief offered fewer material difficulties,[1] for it made, on the other hand, new demands upon the ingenuity of the artist, who was confronted by the problem of grouping his figures and of filling the space. In both these directions the Assos reliefs do not appear to mark the very beginning of work along new lines. The group of the struggle between Herakles and the monster is exquisitely well designed, and the reclining men on the other slab are by no means bad. The proper disposition of so many figures, however, was beyond the means of the Assos sculptors. They had begun to feel the importance of "isokephalism,"[2] but did not know how to do it justice. Placing the heads of all the figures on the same level, they created truly ludicrous pictures. The little waiter and the "nymphs" are far too small in proportion to the reclining and to the struggling figures.

Another argument against the very early date of the reliefs is found in the shape of the centaurs[4] enjoying the use of four horses' legs, which is the regular fashion all through the classic period. Originally[3] centaurs were represented as men, with only the bodies and hind legs of horses attached to the small of their backs. One such primitive centaur, it is true, was

[1] E. von Mach, p. 124. [2] For isokephalism E. von Mach, pp. 65 and 133. [3] We know this from vase paintings and from early sculptures, see Reinach II, 692. [4] For these centaurs see Reinach I, 6.

3. BASE OF ANTENOR STATUE.

4. BRANCHIDAI FIGURE.

5. ORIENTAL ARTEMIS. CAST FROM BRONZE.

found in Assos in the American excavations of 1881–1883, but this is of little importance, for it is the most advanced, and not the conservative type, which is decisive for the date of a relief.[1] The existence, however, of the two types side by side is interesting; for although the "man centaur" possibly belongs to another set of decorations, it more probably shows that sculptors of a less and a more progressive temper were engaged together in executing the reliefs. This we know was also the case on the Parthenon.

Very instructive is the demeanor of the frightened nymphs beating their hasty retreat. Compared with the subdued action which we meet on most reliefs[2] of the archaic period their excessive activity seems to suggest a great advance. But this is not the case. "Nothing to excess" was the motto of the Greeks, written in large letters on the temple at Delphi, and "nothing to excess" is characteristic of the best Greek work in sculpture. A warning like this, however, never is uttered except when the natural tendencies of a people pull it in the other direction. The noble restraint of Greek sculpture is not achieved without a struggle; it is the conscious subduement of a restless temper. The violent movement of the nymphs, therefore, do not contradict the origin of this relief in the sixth century, while the excellent composition of the struggle scene makes it unlikely that the composition was carved earlier than the best of the Branchidai figures, Plate 36, that is between 580 and 520 B. C.

For the detailed study of these reliefs note:

1. The oblong blocks at the upper edge of the reliefs. They are the regulæ which fitted under the triglyphs of the frieze, and prove that these slabs composed the architrave.

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[1] See Overbeck I, p. 109. [2] Compare especially the reliefs from Thasos, Plate 54.

(For the explanation of the architectural terms see the restoration of the temple at Aigina, Text Illustration 13.)

2. The unconcern about balancing the figures. There is no symmetry in the composition. Contrast the Assos reliefs with those from Thasos, Plate 54.

3. The remarkable tenacity of the old man who continues to hold his symbol, the fish, in his hand in spite of his struggle with Herakles. Contrast the entire group with the similar one from Athens, Plate 40b.

4. Compare the centaur with the centaurs from Olympia, Plates 87, 89, and the large cups in the hands of the reclining figures with the cups on the Spartan tombstones, Plate 367a.

PLATE 40a. Herakles and the Hydra. Of coarse limestone (Poros). Pedimental group from the Akropolis. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Overbeck I, fig. 33.

PLATE 40b. Herakles and the Triton. Of soft limestone (Poros). Pedimental group from the Akropolis. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Overbeck I, fig. 34. cf. fig. 36.

Fragmentary to the extreme, these reliefs are yet important as the earliest discovered monuments of Athens. Plate 40a is carved in very low relief in a coarse soft stone, which is found on a little island in the Peiraios harbor. This stone, called Poros, is the worst imaginable material for sculpture, offering an unpleasant appearance, and containing numberless little shells embedded in the rather soft lime of which it is composed. It is little wonder, therefore, that the Greeks covered it almost completely with paint. This, some people say, was the beginning of the coloring of sculpture,[1] first a necessity owing to the homely material, later a habit difficult to break, although the finest marble was used. There is force

[1] For the coloring of statues see E. von Mach, pp. 67ff.

in this argument, which is not easily refuted, and yet it cannot be correct. It starts with the presumption that the painting of statues is an anomaly; that the Greeks, therefore, resorted to it in spite of their better instincts. That they should have submitted to a distasteful necessity in the archaic period is in keeping with the facts.[1] Their inability to break an unworthy habit, however, in the subsequent generations is so strongly against the weight of the evidence[2] that it is inadmissible as an argument. With this second link in the chain useless, the first loses much of its probability, and we are forced to believe that the Greeks used color because they wanted to use it, and *not* because they had to. The selection of such a poor material as the Peiraios Poros loses much of its mystery under this assumption, because why not use any kind of a material which is easily carved if it will have to be covered with paint anyhow![3] The possible objection that if this was true we might expect to find Poros used all through the classic period is not well taken, because the softness of Poros prevented the delicacy of modelling which later artists desired to introduce.

In this relief we meet for the first time a triangular gable space which is to be filled with a composition. The problems which such a task offers are many.[4] The Athenian artist has acquitted himself rather well. Only once, in the diminutive size of the chariot, his resortful imagination has failed him. Splendidly conceived are the horses, who had to lower their heads in conformity with the narrowing corner of the pediment. Yet so well is this motive introduced that one forgets the limitation of space. The large crab, which, according to

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[1] E. von Mach, pp. 109ff. [2] E. von Mach, p. 159. [3] For the technique of this relief, which can be studied only from the original, see Overbeck I, p. 181. [4] E. von Mach, pp. 180ff.

tradition, approached to assist the Hydra against Herakles, is seen advancing from the corner, and with true equine curiosity the idle horses stretch their necks to smell of the slowly approaching guest. The hundred-headed snake (Hydra) well fills the other half of the pediment. Snakes can assume almost any position without doing violence to natural semblance.[1]

The difference in size between Herakles and his charioteer may be explained on the ground of the physical development of the hero. It may, however, also be due to the different height of the space which the two figures had to fill.

The color on the relief was in a good state of preservation when the slab was discovered. There were, however, some spots that showed the natural light brown of the stone. It is probable that here the paint had worn off. The colors used are various shades of pink, black and red.

Plate 40b is one of two similar groups representing the struggle between Herakles and the so-called Triton, the old man from the sea. One of them, facing the spectator's left, may be a companion piece to Herakles and the Hydra, that is to say, it may have filled the other pediment of the same temple. The second, facing the other way, was a companion piece to the Typhon group, Plate 41a. Both groups are extremely fragmentary, but they offer interesting points of comparison with the similar subject treated on the Assos reliefs, Plate 39.

PLATE 41a. The Typhon, Pedimental Group from the Akropolis of Athens. Of fine hard limestone. Akropolis Museum, Athens. E. von Mach, pp. 178ff.; Overbeck I, fig. 35; colored reproduction *Antike Denkmäler* I, Pl. 30.

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[1] E. von Mach, pp. 179ff.

The better character of this stone, although it also is a kind of Poros, enabled the sculptor to carve his group almost in the round. The quality of a high relief, however, is not lost, because the Typhon is well finished on the front side only. Its coloring[1] is peculiar, and has given the figure the name "Blue Beard."

The character representation of this three-headed monster has so completely engrossed the attention of the sculptor that he has failed to represent the Typhon in a posture adequate to his imputed action. He is fighting with Zeus, for such was the meaning of the group, as is attested to by other fragments.[2] Three centuries later we meet with a similar struggle between Zeus and a snake-bodied monster on the altar from Pergamon (see below). A comparison[3] of these two monuments clearly reveals the lines along which Greek sculpture developed.

PLATE 41b. Bull Attacked by Lions.[4] Of limestone profusely painted. Colossal group in relief from the Akropolis. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Overbeck I, p. 185, fig. 37.

This remarkably powerful composition is described by Overbeck in these words[5]: "It is impossible to think of this group in connection with a pediment; for the relief was, doubtless, of rectangular dimensions. Its subject is one of the oldest, and is frequently found on vases from Mykenai and other old monuments. Here it is treated with truly

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[1] E. von Mach, p. 178. [2] See the restoration of the group. Overbeck I, fig. 35. [3] Another interesting comparison is between the Typhon relief and the old Attic Nestos Vase. *Antike Denkmäler* I, Pl. 57. [4] Compare fragment of two bulls overpowered by lions from Kyzicus. *A. J. A.*, VIII, 1904, p. 101. Date toward end of sixth century, B. C. [5] Free translation of Overbeck I, p. 185.

surprising vigor. The mighty bull, painted blue, is borne down by two lions, his head pressed to the ground, while the claws of his aggressors penetrate his skin, and from his wounds the blood flows forth in streams. The head of the bull and the muscular legs of the lions belong to the most glorious creations of early Greek art."[1]

PLATE 42. Athena and Giant. Of marble. Pedimental group from the Akropolis Museum, Athens. Studniczka. *Athen. Mitt.*, 1886, pp. 185ff.; Reinach II, 800, 6.

The head of this Athena was found in 1863, while the remaining fragments were found in 1882. They were put together a few years later by Studniczka, who suggests with much probability that they formed the center of one of the pediments of the temple[2] of Athena, enlarged by Peisistratos soon after 550 B. C. This date seems to accord with the style of the group. The three braids (not four) falling over the shoulder of the goddess correspond with the earlier of the Akropolis figures, Plates 25-30. For the rest one must not compare this head too closely with those of the Akropolis figures, because it was designed to be seen at a considerable height, while they were to be seen close at hand. This may account for the fullness of the lips, which, near by, seem almost voluptuous. The rather short face may be an allowance to the tilt of the head, and be due to the unwillingness of the sculptor to have the chin appear less distinct when further removed from view.[3]

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[1] For some statutes of women carved in Poros see *Rev. Arch.*, 1891, Pls. XI and XII. [2] For the temple see Dörpfeld. *Athen. Mitt.*, 1886, pp. 310ff. [3] The long eyelids are due in part to the downward glance of Athena.

The grouping of the figures has given considerable trouble to the artist, but it is not bad. Even today we, accustomed to seeing perfect battle scenes, are impressed with the force of the goddess and the impotence of the defeated giant. A similar arrangement of Athena and a fallen warrior occurs on the pediment of Aigina, Plate 83.[1] There, however, the man is dead, killed, it seems, by the other warriors, while the goddess is impassively present. In harmony of lines the Aigina group surpasses the old Athenian pediment, while it falls short of it in vigor and in interest.

If one approaches archaic Greek sculpture, as many do, with the preconceived notion that it is as weak in conception as it is inexperienced in execution, one is constantly surprised by its virility, for it bears indeed the germs from which sprang the later masterpieces.

PLATE 43a. Metopes of the Treasury of Sikyon in Delphi. Of marble. Museum in Delphi.

PLATE 43b. Frieze from a Treasury (possibly belonging to Siphnos) in Delphi. Of marble. Museum in Delphi.

These fragments were found in the recent French excavations in Delphi, together with many others, only a few of which have been published. The museum is just finished and the installation[2] of all the sculptures is hardly completed. It is, therefore, too early to speak the last word on these reliefs, but that they are of importance is certain.

The treasury of Siphnos was built about 525 B. C., and that of Sikyon probably considerably earlier. The metopes from this latter building, Plate 43a, are oblong in form, very unlike

[1] See also the giant from the treasury of Megara in Olympia, Plate 46, and the Metopes from Selinus, text illustration 5, 49, and Plate 51b.

[2] *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, July 11, 1903.

in shape those of later periods, which were almost square. (cf. The Parthenon Metopes, Plates 160ff.)

One little detail of costume in the male figure to the spectator's right is interesting as showing a survival of a habit in vogue in Homeric times. The belt around the waist *under* the garment is the Homeric Mitré, as P. Perdrizet has proved in his fully illustrated article in *B. C. H.*, '97, pp. 169-183.

In studying the relief, notice the attention paid to pleasing, and largely parellel lines, and the inability of the artist to carve the many legs of the cattle successfully. A century later, on the Parthenon, the well carved animal legs belong to the best parts of the entire frieze.

The other metope, Europa on the Bull, finds its counterpart in the metope from Selinus, text illustration 48. The chariot horses, Plate 43b, mark a decided advance over the cattle, Plate 43a, and are especially interesting as compared with those on the Herakles and Hydra relief, Plate 40a, on the Knidian frieze, Plate 44, and on the Parthenon (see below). There is variety in these horses, some being seen in profile, others from the front. No such variety is introduced on the Parthenon, in keeping with the different conception of relief sculpture which prevailed in Athens in the middle of the fifth century. In Delphi the actuality of the background as a solid mass is not considered, for chariot and men are proceeding slantingly out from the background.[1]

The dead man has fallen not parallel with the wall, but at a very sharp angle. This is one of those deviations from the strict principles of relief sculpture which add an element of pictorial interest, but can never attain the harmonious unity that prevails, for instance, on the Parthenon frieze. The thing to note is that such pictorial decorations were known to

[1] E. von Mach, pp. 55ff., p. 323.

the Parthenon sculptors, who, after due deliberation, refused to stoop to any means not in keeping with their principles.

PLATE 44. Reliefs from the Frieze of the Treasury of Knidos in Delphi. Of marble. Museum, Delphi.

These reliefs, recently excavated in Delphi by the French, may be called the forerunners of the Parthenon frieze In strong contrast to the earlier Delphi frieze, Plate 43, the artist here has realized the existence of the wall as an actuality. The chariot horses may well be considered to be the prototypes of an improved group on the Parthenon (see south frieze below), while the seated figures remind one, in general arrangement, of the gods on the east frieze. In bodily shape they are more like the deities on the "Theseion," Plates 131ff., while the folds of their short cloaks are much like those of the Akropolis figures, Plates 25-30. In the folds of the figure to the spectator's right the inability of the artist to have them fall as the forward bend of the figure would seem to demand is noteworthy.[1] For the folds on her back compare those of the garment of Chares, Plate 36.

PLATE 45. Lowest Sculptured Drum of a Column of the Old Temple of Artemis in Ephesos. Of marble. British Museum. London. Excavated in the early seventies. *British Museum Catalogue* I, pp. 24ff.

This column has been put together of the fragments of several columns. The inscription, probably correctly restored, as "King Kroisos dedicated (this column)," and the figure of the man are said to belong together. Kroisos fell in 546

[1] Compare here the hair of the Kekropos, Plate 47b, and of the Spinario, Plate 72.

B. C. This gives the date *ante quem* for these Ephesos sculptures; and, since the first years of the reign of Kroisos were full of wars, it is reasonable to suppose that the sculptures were made about 550 B. C. They are thus contemporary with some of the Branchidai figures, Plate 36, flanking the road which led up to the temple of Apollo, upon which Kroisos is also said to have showered his royal gifts.

With only one male figure and the head of a woman preserved, the subject of the composition cannot be ascertained. The man is of peculiarly lanky proportions, and his face — to judge by what is left — un-Greek to the extreme. There is, however, much dignity in his bearing. It grows upon one with continued study.

The face of the woman is Greek. It is like many early Greek faces, beautiful, with placid lines. Much attention is given to details, but never a thought to character.

PLATE 46. Pedimental Relief from the Treasury of Megara in Olympia. Of limestone. Museum, Olympia. *Ad. Boetticher, Olympia*, pp. 212ff.

This fragment of a gi· .ntomachia (fight of the Gods against the giants) has, with some probability, been recognized as the work of one Medon, member of the famous school of artists who came to Greece from Crete. The folds of the drapery and the face with t eculiarly wrought beard and the drooping mustache [1] are .n keeping with work in the latter part of the sixth century.[2] The artistic design [3] is surprisingly good. The arrangement of the legs, with the thigh of the giant about equal to the size of his opponent's foot, the modelling of the

[1] Contrast the gold mask from Mykenai, Tsountas, and Manatt, p. 98. [2] Compare head below. Gardner, p. 208. [3] Compare this design with Plate 42.

nude and the moderation shown in the collapse of the giant, all imply severe training.

PLATES 47-51 and Text Illustrations. Metopes[1] from Selinus in Sicily. Of limestone. Museum, Palermo. Discovered at various times; the majority in 1822 and soon after, those of the third series in 1892 by Professor Salinas. Benndorf: *Die Metopen von Selinunt* 1873; Serradifalco, *Antichita della Sicilia*. For the later discovery, *Monumenti antichi, Reale Academia dei Lencei*, Volume I, 1892. A few are discussed F. W. 149ff.; Robinson 27 and 28. All are mentioned Overbeck I, pp. 131ff., 212ff., 215ff., 557ff.

These metopes belong to different temples, of which only one has been identified as dedicated to a definite deity. It is the temple of Hera, and its extant metopes are those given on Plates 49–51. They are the latest of all, dating probably from between 480 and 450 B. C., that is, in the Transitional Period. They are, however, placed here together with the older metopes, because they seem to be the natural culmination of a comparatively independent style. They are customarily referred to as series IV.

Series I dates from about the middle of the sixth century or earlier, and comprises Perseus slaying Medusa, Herakles and the Kekropes, and a chariot. Of Series II only one is well preserved, Europa on the Bull,[2] Text Illustration 48. Series III is represented by two fragments, Text Illustration 49.

All these metopes were colored. How much these early artists relied upon color is shown also by the fact that they carved the nude parts of the women separately in white marble, adding them to the rest, which had been carved in limestone.

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[1] Plate 48b is a later votive relief, placed here for the sake of comparison. [2] For a late copy of Europa on the Bull, see *British Museum Catalogue*, 1535; Reinach II, 417, 2.

The most apparent characteristic of the metopes of the first series is daring of composition coupled with very inadequate skill, but with a certain natural gift of expression. The artist[1] knew how to make himself understood. This was indeed his chief aim. Consequently he avoided everything that might have led to confusion. On the other hand, he saw no objection against deviating from nature, if by so doing he could serve his end. This is best seen in Herakles carrying the Kekropes. There were, from his point of view, strong objections against carving the legs of the imps retreating into the background, that is to say, with only their knees showing and perhaps their toes, but with the rest cut from view, as they would naturally be, by the knees. Similarly undesirable it was not to have the faces of the Kekropes show. All early figures face the spectator. He therefore carved a group which is anatomically impossible, but which is yet readily understood. Herakles carries the twins suspended from a pole over his shoulders.

A certain amount of accurate study of nature shows in the hair of the Kekropes, falling downward. This Greek artists did not always observe; the hair of the Spinario, for instance, Plate 72, does not follow the forward inclination of the head.

The feet on the other metope, Plate 47a, are extremely interesting. They indicate the direction in which the figures have been moving. Exactly the same is found a century later in Eurydike, Plate 179, but of course more cleverly managed. The hind legs of Pegasos, sprung as the story says from the blood of Medusa, are elongated so that they may reach the ground and fill an empty space. This also

[1] The singular is generic. We do not know that one man made all the metopes of the temple. He might have made three or four, but it would be strange to have the few that are preserved belong all to one man.

6. ARCHAIC SPHINX.

7. EUROPA AND BULL, METOPE FROM SELINUS.

occurs again in the fifth century in the case of a centaur from the Phigaleia frieze, Plate 172.

The kneeling position of Medusa may suggest her hasty flight and in that case be comparable to the attitude of the figure from Delos, Plate 32. It may, however, also be a devise of the artist in order to make the monster appear to be of a more awe-inspiring size. The knees of all the figures are very good, and far ahead of the majority of knees of the early "Apollos," Plates 11ff. The faces also are not without a certain *naif* charm, and the knees certainly are full of spirit.

Attention to a pleasing appearance of the composition is not entirely neglected. The overlong legs of Pegasos are one instance; others are the thickened right thigh of Medusa, and the sword of Herakles. All are due to the desire to avoid empty spaces, the same that led to the overlarge hand and cup on the Spartan tombstones.[1]

The inactive presence of Athena in the Theseus metope finds many parallels in Greek sculpture. Similar figures, with whom it is instructive to compare her, are seen on the Olympia metopes, Plates 90 and 91, while other gods, perhaps invisibly present, are depicted in the pediments of the temples of Olympia, Plates 86f., and of Aigina, Plate 83.

After studying two of the metopes, the reasons why the sculptor carved his chariot, Plate 48a, as he did, are apparent. On the same plate a picture of a much later chariot is given, and nothing could more clearly disclose the inherent points of weakness, and yet of vigor of the Selinus design.

The style of the metopes of the second series is illustrated by Europa riding the bull across the sea, Text Illus-

[1] See below under grave monuments.

tration 48. This picture gives an excellent revelation of the simplicity of the artist's reasoning. The dolphin shows that Europa is on the water, the front legs of the bull suggest that he is swimming, and his swishing tail and turned head declare that he is pleased.

The bull is Zeus, who, according to the story, carried his beloved Europa away with him over the brine. There is an almost human expression on his face,[1] very different from that of the calf, Plate 19, and probably intentionally so. The animal heads of the other metopes are more in keeping with the natural appearance of the beasts portrayed.

The technical difficulties are overcome with considerable ease, but with little success. The back of the bull is hollowed so that Europa's head could come within the limit of the block; the problem of the twisted body is solved by hiding the waist behind an outspread piece of drapery, and the hair, for the sake of avoiding confusion, does not fall straight over both shoulders.

The men who carved these metopes were unspoiled by any traditional schooling. What they felt they told, and the way they told it did not trouble them, provided it was intelligible. This simplicity of heart, however, soon gave way to a more thoughtful consideration of the problems of the sculptor's art. Series III, Text Illustrations 8 and 9, already gives evidence of this, and comes, therefore, much nearer to the monuments of the mainland. One of the falling giants compares favorably with a similar figure from the treasury of Megara in Olympia, Plate 46. In Series

[1] A similar expression is noted in a Roman work, the sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius.

8 AND 9. GIGANTOMACHIA, METOPES FROM SELINUS.

10. MUSEUM INTERIOR, PALERMO.

IV finally, Plates 49–51, a severe training of both thought and hand is at once apparent.

These metopes, especially the two on Plates 49 and 50, have lost none of the honesty of expression that characterizes the earlier works from Selinus, but they have gained, in addition, the grace that comes with discipline. The artist no longer carves the very first thing he chooses to express, but rather those conceptions which he has carefully thought out and found to be good. The lines and masses of the Zeus and Hera relief are dignified and pleasing. The seated god is very well designed, and his majestic gesture gains by having him reach out across an empty space.[1] Only the arrangement of his shawl is too studied in effect to be altogether pleasing. His face compares well with that of "Zeus" in Munich, Plate 71.

Hera also appears to better advantage when she is contrasted with the Akropolis figures, Plates 25ff., and the same is the case with Artemis when she is studied side by side with the metopes from Olympia, Plates 90ff.

The other two metopes are less satisfactory. The onward sweep of Athena is well conceived, but the slanting lines of her body are in need of a steadying mass instead of one of such weakness as is offered by the body of the collapsing giant. For this reason the lines of the Aktaion group, and even those of the Herakles and Hippoleta, are superior to those of the Athena slab, in spite of the fact that the motives of these latter metopes are much tamer.

There is another unsuccessful touch in the Athena and

[1] This meant much in an age when people were governed by the "horror vacui." (See E. von Mach, pp. 50 and 65.)

in the Herakles metopes, which is due to the endeavor of the sculptor to show clearly the close bodily contact between the victors and their opponents. The struggling men and women are stepping on each other's feet. This no doubt is true to nature, but it is not pleasant to look at, and for this reason does not often occur in Greek art.

The Selinus metopes make a different impression on the student from any known Greek works, although some of their figures show strong resemblances to other familiar statues or reliefs. Several correspondences have been pointed out above. Others are found in the head of Herakles, Plate 51a, which reminds one of Harmodios, Plate 58, and in his pose, which suggests that of Aristogeiton, Plate 59. But in spite of all this seeming correspondence there is a fundamental difference. The Selinus sculptor shows himself to be an unspoiled child of nature, clever to a certain extent and open-hearted. The true Greek, on the other hand, who was not less a child of nature, had too keen a sense of the propriety of things to permit himself the luxury of a random expression of first thoughts. What he created was, to the best of his knowledge, his sober second thought and always the result of severe discipline, both mental and technical.

PLATE 52a. Gable End of a Tomb from Xanthos in Lycia. Of limestone. British Museum, London. Discovered 1838–1840. *British Museum Catalogue* I, p. 45 and Nos. 89 and 90.

PLATE 52b. Frieze of Cocks and Hens from Xanthos in Lycia. Of limestone. British Museum, London. Discovered 1838–1840. *Catalogue* I, No. 82.

The great skill of the artist in filling his triangular space

is the first thing noticed in the upper relief[1]; the next thing is his mastery over animal forms. Compared with them, even the beautiful faces of the sphinxes lose in life-likeness. The women's breasts, however, reveal the customary disregard of anatomically accurate forms.

Variety in perfect balance is another characteristic of the upper slab. It is carried to the minutest detail, as a careful observation reveals. Not only the faces and hair-dresses are different, but also the wings, and the curls of the tails. The upper slab is doubtless the gable of a tomb, for which the presence of sphinxes[2] was especially appropriate. When first discovered, the gable group was brilliantly colored in blue, red, black, and white.

PLATE 53. Frieze of the "Harpy" Tomb from Xanthos, Lycia. Of marble. British Museum, London. Discovered 1838–1840. E. von Mach, pp. 129ff.; *British Museum Catalogue* I, pp. 54ff.; Robinson, No. 29; F. W., Nos. 127ff.

These four reliefs are fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 129ff. The important points are:

1. The position of the frieze just below the cornice of a monument about twenty feet high.

2. The flying figures carrying off little creatures, wrongly named "harpies," which have given the name to the monument.

3. The pictorial element in the group of the woman

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[1] The apparently empty space over the left Sphinx was originally filled by the extended beam of the lintel, now broken away.

[2] Earlier sphinxes have been discussed, Plates 38 and 39. There are also sphinxes, only slightly less beautiful than these, among the recently discovered fragments from Assos.

sitting under one of the "harpies," and its inappropriateness in sculpture.

4. The expressive poses of the seated figures.

5. The successful dealing with isokephalism.

6. The interesting treatment of the women[1] and of their draperies.

7. The stocky build of the man in armor.

8. The exquisite echo of actual nature in the shepherd (?) with his dog.

9. The adherence to nature in the representation of animal forms, for which compare Plate 52.

It may be added that the identification of the seated figures as gods is not assured. Percy Gardner (*J. H. S.*, V, pp. 129ff.) suggests with much force that they are representations of the dead, worshipped as heroes. For such a custom see the Spartan tombstones below.

PLATE 54. Reliefs from Thasos. Of white marble. Louvre, Paris. Discovered 1864. E. von Mach, pp. 134ff.; Robinson, No. 37. A–C; *A. J. A.*, First Series, Vol. V, pp. 416ff.

These reliefs are fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 134ff. The important points are:

1. Application of *suggested* lines in a few of the draped figures.

2. Perfect balance of the groups on either side of the door, adding the three women to the left of the large block, and the Hermes and Grace to the right.

3. Variety in balance.

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[1] References of comparison with other works are given throughout in E. von Mach, pp. 129ff.

4. The skilful twist in the Apollo figure, which may be contrasted with Plate 32.

5. The technique of cutting away the background where a part of the figure is intended to project, notably in the case of Hermes.

6. The unconvincing position of the legs of Hermes, owing to the timidity of the sculptor.

7. The moderation in the figures of the girls following immediately upon the gods.

Attention may also be called to the figure back of Hermes, who has only two braids falling over her shoulder, while in early times three is customary in statues in the round. The space in the relief is too limited to admit of three braids without crowding. The artist was wise, therefore, in deviating from his model. For the beauty of the face and the fullness of the breast of this girl compare the sphinxes from Xanthos, Plate 52a.

A different arrangement from the one here suggested is proposed by Michaelis.[1] He arranges the slabs around three sides of an open court, the long slab facing you as you enter, the short slabs at right angles from the larger one, and supplemented each by one additional slab, now lost. The composition as we have it is so complete that it is difficult to think of any valuable additions. If Michaelis nevertheless is right, — and his arguments, based on observations on the preserved slabs and the possibility of having them joined together, certainly sound convincing (except in the case of the supplementary slabs), — then we are justified in supposing that one artist made the excellent design, and that other sculptors, executing it, broke

[1] *A. J. A.*, First Series, Vol. V, pp. 416ff.

the design, perhaps at the request of their employer, in the fashion indicated by Michaelis.

PLATE 55. The Death of Aigistheus. Marble relief. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg (Copenhagen). Discovered (date unknown) in Aricia in Latium. Formerly in the Museum Despuig in Palma on Mayorca.

The subject of this relief has been variously [1] interpreted. It probably represents Orestes with drawn sword standing over the mortally wounded Aigistheus, and uncertain whether the foul murder of his father, Agamemnon, demands of him also the killing of his mother Klytaimnestra. She stands behind him, placing her hand, perhaps deprecatingly, on his shoulder. Elektra follows her, looking at Orestes with a gesture of victory and an almost sardonic smile. The women to the right and left are slaves of the household.

The grouping of the figures is well done. The backward glance of Orestes supplies a center of interest, and the moment selected — the son hesitating before the matricide — is of great dramatic power. The wailing slaves, the dying knave who had killed Agamemnon and had stolen his wife, the excited mother — notice her huge steps [2] — and the exulting daughter, all give indications of the superior power of the artist's mind.

Coupled with these, however, an awkwardness of execution is noticed, not less surprising, although it finds, in every instance, its parallel in other early Greek works. For the turned head of Orestes, see the Iolaos or the Herakles and Hydra relief, Plate 40a; for the drapery fall-

[1] See Overbeck I, pp. 216 and 295. [2] Compare remarks to Plate 35.

ing in untroubled folds from the shoulders of the excited murderer, see the figure mounting a chariot, Plate 56; for the folds of the dress gathered in the hands of the queen, the figures from the Akropolis, Plates 25ff., and so on. There are, however, also incongruities of considerable importance in the design of the relief. The garment of the slave, for instance, behind Aigistheus falls in actual folds, while that of the queen is laid in the conventional folds of early Greece; the anatomy of the knee of Aigistheus is correct, that of the Orestes is like an inaccurate copy of one of the knees of the later "Apollos," Plates 11–16. The sleeve-finish of the cloak of Klytaimnestra indicates a misconception of this garment,[1] and the smile of Elektra is out of keeping with the expressionless faces of the others. The arrangement of the three feet in the center is very clumsy and seems strange in a composition of such power, most especially when it is compared with compositions like the pedimental frieze of the treasury of Megara, Plate 46, or the beautiful disposition of the three hands in the relief from Pharsalos below.

Overbeck (I, p. 216) says that the genuineness of this relief has never been questioned. In view of the above remarks this is strange. If the relief is genuine in spite of them, it is unique.

PLATE 56. Figure Mounting a Chariot. Of marble (possibly Pentelic). Akropolis Museum, Athens. Found near the Propylaia in 1822, except the small block with the horses' tails, which was first noticed by Newton on the Akropolis in 1852. A head of Hermes, probably belonging to the same relief, was found in 1859 near the south wall of the Akropolis. O. Hauser, in *Jahrbuch*, 1892, pp. 54ff., identi-

[1] See Akropolis figures, Plates 25–30.

fies the figure as male. He says it is Apollo. He has many followers, among them Michaelis in Springer's *Handbuch* I, p. 192. Overbeck (I, p. 203) retains the old designation of a woman. Robinson (No. 33) follows Hauser.

For the appreciation of this relief it is of no consequence whether this figure is male or female. If a woman is meant, the artist has wisely discontinued the habit of representing her breast with too much fullness.[1] The lines of the relief are delicate, great skill being shown in the radiation of the folds of the cloak toward the right arm. They carry the eye forward and thence along the arms to the horses, and add a pleasing element of unity. The orderly arrangement of the ends falling over the arms are characteristically out of keeping with the action of the figure, just as is the case on the Aigistheus relief, Plate 55, and also on the Athena from Aigina, Plate 83.

The technique of the relief approximates that of the Hermes slab from Thasos, Plate 54. The background is not one even plane, but scooped out in places to give more prominence to some parts. The skilful and convincing arrangement of the composition is best appreciated when one realizes that the wheel, in spite of the extreme flatness[2] of the relief, appears to be on a nearer plane to the spectator than the figure. It is this dexterous disposition of the integral parts of the composition that, pushed to its perfection, gives to the Parthenon frieze its greatest charm.

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[1] Look at the girl following Hermes, Plate 54. [2] For relief sculpture and its devises see E. von Mach, pp. 48ff.

11. HERMES.

12. ATHENA PARTHENOS ON A GEM.

13. RESTORATION OF TEMPLE OF AIGINA.

Note.

One interesting group of figures is not represented in this collection, the men on horseback. Several are in existence, but none are well preserved. Franz Winter, *Jahrbuch* VIII, 1893, pp. 135ff.) supplies many pictures in the course of an exhaustive article, while Studniczka (*Jahrbuch* VI, 1891, pp. 239) discusses an especially interesting monument. Another horseman in relief is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Part Three.

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.[1]

This period dates from the end of the Persian wars, 480 B. C. (more accurately 479 B. C.) to about 450 B. C. It is marked by the spirit of freedom, which, after the battle of Salamis, had begun to sweep over Greece. Old conventions, unless founded on truth and on accuracy of observation, were discarded, and as quickly as skill permitted, nothing was done because "it had always been done that way," but because "it now seemed to be the best way to do it."

The names of a few artists working during these thirty years are known, and some of their works, which have been identified in extant statues, have revealed the substantial accuracy of the above characterization. Others have then been assigned to the same period as following the identical tendencies. Art tendencies, however, are rarely confined, in all their manifestations, to one short span of time. They are prematurely followed by exceptional men long before they begin to be the moving power of all, while conservative people adhere to them even after the natural course of their influence is run. It is wrong, therefore, to believe that all the works discussed in this period were necessarily made during the years from 480–

[1] See E. von Mach, pp. 158ff.

450 B. C. All that can be said is that they are of the style in vogue at that time.

Some of the Greek masterpieces were made soon after 450 B. C., some of the most restricted conceptions were executed immediately preceding 480 B. C. The period under discussion, therefore, is properly called the Transitional Period.

PLATE 57. Statue of a "Boy." Of marble. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Found, the body, 1865–66; the head, 1888; both near the site of the present Akropolis Museum. Overbeck, p. 205, fig. 48; Robinson, No. 64; Reinach II, 588, 1.

This statue is almost universally referred to as that of a boy. It is small, as would become a young fellow of thirteen or fourteen years of age, and so beautiful in its modelling that the accruing element of chastity seems to be in keeping with such a subject. Reinach alone classifies it among statues of men, and he is probably right. The resemblance, both in form and face, of this figure with the Harmodios, Plate 58, has often[1] been pointed out, and Harmodios is not a boy. The photographs of the statue, moreover, in which the reduced size of the original does not appear, do not at first give one the impression of a boy. The comparison finally of this figure with the Spinario, Plate 72, who is intended to be very young, the differences in the conception between the two statues, and, most especially, the difference in the development of the arms, make it more than probable that we have here not the statue of a boy, but the statuette of a man. If

[1] See bibliography Robinson, No. 64.

we, on the other hand, prefer to retain the idea of a boy, we must see in this figure one of those frequent perversities of ancient art, by means of which the same physical development did duty for all ages, while the artists relied upon differences of size to distinguish between them. This view, however, is a little far-fetched. Our statue is not much smaller than any of the "Apollos," except that from Melos, and is even larger than the Strangford "Apollo," Plate 16.

A comparison with this latter statue reveals the changes that have taken place. The Strangford "Apollo" shows its origin in every line; it is the best of a type that can be traced back, step by step, to the "Apollo" of Thera. The Akropolis figure is the free conception of a man who has learned his lesson from the "Apollo" figures, but who, after learning his lesson, has closed his book and has struck out for himself. One daring device of the "Strangford" artist he has even refused to accept, preferring to follow the men a little back in the line who supported the arms by little blocks near the hips of their figures. The almost too prominent muscles over the ribs of the Strangford "Apollo" our artist has toned down, convinced that it was more important to be true to nature than to show his knowledge of anatomy. The face is not individual, as indeed it could not be,[1] but it has lost the artificial appearance of the "Apollos," which was due to the promiscuous attention paid to all the features. When Robinson believes the inserted eyeballs (now lost) indicate the intention on the part of the sculptor to imitate a statue of bronze, he is in error. Inserted eyes are frequent in Greek

[1] See E. von Mach, p. 202.

marble and stone sculpture,[1] while the modelling of the body of the Athenian youth is such as is well adapted to marble, and is unsuited to bronze, its delicacy being lost in the harsher metal. The argument from the "wiry treatment" of the hair is equally ill-advised. The same hair is carved on the Strangford "Apollo."

No very definite date can be assigned to the Akropolis statue. The place of its discovery indicates that it was used by Kimon as *filling* when he began to level the eastern end of the Akropolis. This was before 461 B. C. Since it was not dumped together with the figures[2] destroyed by the Persians in 480 B. C., it was doubtless made subsequent to the Persian wars, that is, between 480 and 461 B. C., or during the Transitional Period.

PLATE 58. Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Marble group; late copy. Museum in Naples. Date of discovery unknown. Identified by Friederichs in 1859. Restorations: Aristogeiton, the figure with the drapery, both arms, the head, and several toes; Harmodios, both arms, everything below the hips except the upper part of the left leg. E. von Mach, pp. 160ff.; F. W., 121–124 (excellent bibliography); Robinson, Nos. 62–63; Reinach I, 530, 3 and 5; II, 541, 5. Discussion of Restoration, Sauer, *Rom. Mittheil.*, 1900, pp. 219–222; 1901, pp. 97–108. E. Peterson (Review) and *A. J. A.*, VI, 1902, p. 203.

PLATE 59. Aristogeiton of the same Group.

This group is discussed in detail, E. von Mach, pp. 160ff., where its history and its relation to the earlier group by Antenor also are treated. In a note on p. 329, a

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[1] See Typhon, Plate 41a, and Calf Bearer, Plate 19. [2] See Plates 25–30.

fragment of a vase in the Museum in Boston is mentioned, which is used as an argument in the discussion. This fragment, the director states, was sold to the Museum with the right of publication reserved. This right has not yet been made use of. The public in the meanwhile is the sufferer. Before it is published, its genuineness cannot be ascertained, and in view of the many modern forgeries offered and bought by Museums,[1] the sanguine opinion of the officials that they have originals in their possession counts for little.[2]

The important points for the appreciation of this group are:

1. The substantial accuracy of the restorations. The arm of Harmodios, however, ought to be bent more sharply over his head. Both men ought to carry swords and scabbards. The head of Aristogeiton belongs to a much later period.

2. The age differentiation in the bodies of the two men.

3. The contrast between the older Aristogeiton, acting from spite, and the younger Harmodios, bent upon murder to vindicate his family honor.

4. The freedom of action of the figures, which is unlike

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[1] *Exempli gratia* only the tiara of Tissaphernes in the Louvre, and the "Tenagra" figures in Boston.

[2] The same is true of many marbles, now on exhibition in American Museums, whose place of provenience is withheld, and one of which, a colossal statue of Kybele in Boston, the editors of this series are not permitted to publish. The interest of Greek art is best served by frankness, and where many European Museums have set the noble example of perfect honesty in the discussion of their possessions, it is to be regretted that America should lag behind.

early figures in the round and is more comparable to reliefs (see Hermes, Plate 54).

5. The attempt at representing movement, resulting in the minute moment of rest between the strides. The consequent misunderstanding of the group on the part of the restorer.

6. The design of the group follows the "principle of opposites;" the right side of one figure corresponding to the left side of the other. The same principle was followed in the Kitylos and Dermys group, Plate 11a.

The Naples group is a marble copy which has lost much of the beauty of the bronze original. The supporting tree-trunks were not needed in the bronze. The modern feet are abominable. For good Greek bronze feet of this period see the Charioteer of Delphi, Plate 60. For the beauty of a Greek original of the Transitional Period see Plate 57.

There are several other statues in existence which are believed to reproduce the Tyrannicides group. Chief among them are some of the so-called "Farnese Athletes" [Reinach I, 528, 2 and 6]; and the figures in the Bobolini gardens, Text Illustrations 14 and 15. The "Farnese Athletes" seem to be characterized by less vigor and by greater concentration of masses, as if the artist had been mindful of the heaviness of marble. Two explanations may be offered for this:

1. These statues are copies of the same originals; the visible restraint being due to the less skilled copyist, who felt obliged to concentrate his masses because he translated them from bronze into marble. In other words, he was a more timid man than the sculptor who made the other group, Plates 58 and 59.

2. The visible submission to restrictions of the material is a part of the original group. It betokens an artist still somewhat under the influence of the "Apollos" and similar statues; in short, it speaks in favor of Antenor soon after 510 as the author of the group. If the second view is right, then we may have in the more restrained groups copies of the originals by Antenor, and in the other groups copies of the second monument which Kritios and Nesiotes made soon after 480 B. C.

That this second group was probably very much like the first group is pointed out in E. von Mach, pp. 161 and 162; it would be proved to be so if the latter of the above alternatives is correct.

On the strength of the identification of the Tyrannicides group as the work of Kritios and Nesiotes, various other works have been assigned to these artists or to their school. Among them is an interesting athlete from Tarsos, now in Constantinople, published by A. Joubin in *Rev. Arch.*, Vol. 35, 1899, Plates 13–15, and p. 21. This figure, however, if its restoration is correct, cannot belong to the Transitional Period. The head of the statue does not follow the direction of the weight of the body, as is invariably the case in early Greek art. Turning the head in another direction implies the activity of a controlling mind,[1] and is, therefore, impossible (unless it be a miraculous exception) in an age when the duality of man was not acknowledged.[2]

Joubin's arguments are based on the dimensions of the head of the Tarsos athlete and of other heads. It is the regular method of procedure of the modern "progressive"

[1] E. von Mach, p. 251. [2] E. von Mach, pp. 202ff.

14. "HARMODIOS," FLORENCE.

15. FARNESE ATHLETE, NAPLES.

archæologist, who reduces everything to measurable facts, dealing with the most divine creations of Greek art as so much interesting matter, capable of mathematically accurate deductions. Art cannot be treated in this way without losing everything that makes of it art.[1]

PLATE 60. Charioteer of Delphi. Of bronze. Museum in Delphi. Discovered by the French in 1896. E. von Mach, pp. 175ff.; Robinson (supplement), No. 85. Best illustrations, *Monuments Piot*, Vol. IV, Pls. 15 and 16, and pp. 169ff.; Reinach II, 536, 1. For an ancient chariot see *Records of the Past* II, 1903, pp. 367–372, six cuts of the chariot from Nurcia, recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

This statue is fully discussed, E. von Mach, pp. 175ff., where the impossibility of identifying it definitely is mentioned, and where the family resemblance between it and the work of Kalamis is noted. The Kalamis theory is vigorously defended by E. Audoin (reviewed *A. J. A.*, 1904, p. 115). He bases his arguments on the resemblance of the charioteer to a statue discovered in Poitiers in 1902. Another Athena has served Mahler as starting point for his speculation[2] that the charioteer ought to be assigned to Pythagoras. Mahler's view will appear untenable to all who accept Waldstein's probably correct interpretation of the "Apollo" type, Plates 66, 67, as a copy of a statue by Pythagoras. Audoin's theory has more in its favor, although it too is as yet nought but a theory.

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[1] See also the excellent articles by C. Waldstein, *The Classical Review*, March, 1904, and *J. H. S.*, Vol. XXIV, 1904, pp. 129ff.

[2] Jh. Oesterr. *Arch. Inst.* III, 1900, pp. 142–145.

The important points for the study of the statue are:

1. The dignity of its appearance and the simplicity of its design; its nameless grace.[1]
2. The softness of the folds.
3. The exquisite modelling of the nude.
4. The dimensions of the face.[2] Its long lower parts.
5. The beautiful feet.
6. The neatly wrought hair and the fillet.
7. The fact that the chariot was only a part of a group.[3] For fragments of the horses see *Monuments Piot.*

PLATE 61. Discus[4] Thrower (Diskobolos). Of marble. British Museum, London. Discovered in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, in 1791. Height, five feet, five inches. Restorations: almost the entire face below the eyes, both hands, and parts of the disk, right knee and various small parts. The head is antique, and, as is shown by its resemblance to the Lancelotti discus thrower head (which was not broken), is the proper one. It belonged, however, to another copy and is broken slightly below the "Adam's Apple," while the London statue has lost its head just above it. Adding this head to the statue has given the discus thrower two "Adam's Apples," and has resulted in a wrong turn of the head. The athlete originally turned his head back toward the discus. E. von Mach, pp. 168ff.; *British Museum Catalogue*, No. 250; Robinson, No. 81; Reinach I, 525, 5.

PLATE 62. Discus Thrower. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered in Hadrian's Villa in 1791. Restorations: head, left arm, right leg below the knee, other minor parts, and almost the entire plinth. E. von Mach, pp. 168ff., and 330; Helbig I, 333; F. W., No. 451; Reinach II, 545, 5.

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[1] This was characteristic of Kalamis, see Lucian, *Imag.* VI, and Gardner, p. 234. [2] For dimensions in old Attic art see Fr. Winter, *Jahrbuch* II, 1887, pp. 216ff. Winter adds an excellent table of measurements. [3] E. von Mach, p. 176. [4] For the discovery of an original discus of about 500 B. C. and its description, see *A. J. A.*, IV, 1900, p. 361.

PLATE 63. Discus Thrower. Of marble. Lancelotti Palace, Rome. Discovered 1781 on the Esquiline. Now withheld from the public. E. von Mach, p. 330; Reinach I, 527, 1.

PLATE 64. Combination Cast of Discus Thrower After Myron. The body of the statue in the Vatican, the head of the Lancelotti statue. From Brunn-Arndt *Denkmäler*, Plate 566.

These statues have been identified by means of descriptions by Lucian [1] and by Philostratos [2] as copies of a bronze discus [3] thrower by Myron. From these descriptions we know that the head was turned back, as is the case in the Lancelotti copy.[4]

The essential points in the study of these figures, which are discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 168ff., are:

1. Reflex action,[5] the twist of the body not being confined to one part, as in the Flying Figure from Delos, but being reflected in the entire body.

2. Moderation [6] in the turn and the stoop of the figure, which results in the creation of reserve force.

The original, being of bronze, could do without the retarding support. The support is especially disturbing in the Vatican copy, where it spoils the outlines of the free leg, while it is almost unnoticed in the London copy, where it coincides with the lines of the firmly planted right leg.

A copy of the head of the Lancelotti discus thrower has

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[1] *S. Q.* 544. [2] I, 23, 24. [3] For the discussion of the ancient discus thrower, see *A. J. A.*, VII (1903), pp. 445ff. [4] Two statuettes in Munich and in Bonn show the proper direction of the head. [5] See E. von Mach, pp. 165ff. [6] On this score R. B. Richardson assigns to Myron a beautiful torso from Daphne. *A. J. A.*, IX, Pl. XI, pp. 53ff., X, p. 51.

recently been recognized by Furtwängler[1] in a cast in Paris, formerly known as "Tête de Mercure," and in a head in Berlin.[2] The head is of great beauty, unusually delicate and altogether more ethereal than could be expected from the poor illustrations which are in circulation of the Lancelotti figure.

PLATE 65a. Marsyas, probably after Myron. Of marble. Lateran Museum, Rome. Found 1823 in the studio of an ancient sculptor on the Esquiline. Restorations: both arms and lower left leg, also the ears and various minor parts. E. von Mach, pp. 169ff.; Helbig, No. 661; Robinson, No. 82.

PLATE 65b. Statuette of Marsyas. Of bronze. British Museum, London. Said to have been discovered in Patras. Reinach II, 51, 5 and 7.

Statue and statuette represent a similar motive, Marsyas astonished and recoiling. The restorer of the statue misunderstood the motive. His arms belong to a dancing, turning figure, such as are reproduced below. No such figures, implying as they do the comprehension of bodies moving with perfect ease in limitless space,[3] occur before the latter half of the fourth century. A vase painting with Marsyas recoiling before Athena, whose pipes he had intended to pick up, is pictured in Helbig under No. 661, and in Overbeck I, p. 269. In its moderation (see Plates 61ff., the Discus Thrower) the Marsyas is truly Myronic.

PLATE 66. Boxer, probably after Pythagoras, so-called "Apollo

[1] Review, *A. J. A.*, VI, pp. 203ff. [2] In view of this discovery the statement in E. von Mach, p. 171, concerning the discus thrower heads, would seem to require a modification. [3] See E. von Mach, pp. 296, 297.

with the Omphalos." Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Found, badly broken, but with few pieces missing except the feet, and with an omphalos not far from the statue, in the excavations of the Theatre of Dionysos in 1862. Identified as the statue of a boxer by Pythagoras by C. Waldstein, *J. H. S.*, I, pp. 168ff., II, pp. 322ff. For extensive bibliography and multitude of identifications of the statue see *British Museum Catalogue* note to No. 209. E. von Mach, pp. 172ff.; F. W., 219; Robinson, No. 92; Reinach II, 85, 7.

PLATE 67. Boxer, probably after Pythagoras, so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo. Of marble. British Museum, London. Bought in Constantinople by Choiseul Gouffier, provenience unknown; deposited in the British Museum in 1818. The nose — some accounts say the tip of the nose — is restored. E. von Mach, pp. 173ff.; F. W., 221; Reinach II, 85, 10, cf. the Torlonia replica, Reinach II, 85, 9.

Following the custom of calling unidentified male statues of vigorous appearance "Apollos," these two statues are known by this name. The Athenian figure has been further designated by the object which was found near it, an omphalos, or navel of the earth,[1] while the London figure is known by the name of the man who bought it in Constantinople, Choiseul Gouffier. To-day although these names still cling to the statues, it has been proved that the omphalos does not belong to the Athenian statue, that both figures are replicas of the same original (some say the Athenian figure is the original) and that the subject is not Apollo, but an athlete.

The most convincing identification of the statues is offered by Waldstein, who believes the figures are copies of the statue of the boxer Euthymos by Pythagoras. The importance of this discovery and the light it throws on the

[1] The Omphalos is an attribute of Apollo as god of Delphi, which was believed to be the center of the earth.

remarkable proportions of the body are discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 172ff. Since "Olympic victor statues did not always show the athletes engaged in the sports in which they had won," the sculptors were compelled, "to distinguish them by means of their physical development." The well-developed chest and shoulders and the conscious prominence of these parts characterize the statues in question as boxers. The large number of extant copies reveal the original to have been a famous one. The style assigns the statues to the Transitional Period. We know of a popular statue of Euthymos belonging to between 480 and 450 B. C. Its sculptor was Pythagoras. This artist is praised for the fine use he made of details, especially of veins, and for his careful representation of the hair. All these traits are found in the extant statues. Notice, for instance, the delicate locks of hair near the ears, hardly visible in a photograph, and the veins on the upper arms to indicate the free coursing of blood in these well-developed members.

The opponents of Waldstein's identification disagree with him as to the meaning of the object on the tree-trunk of the London statue; the tree-trunk of the Athens statue is broken away.[1] Waldstein explains the object as a leather thong, such as pugilists wound about their hands in place of the modern glove (see the statue of a boxer Tarbell, fig. 177). Robinson, p. 71, says, "This definition of the object, however, is open to question. It is more probably a bow." The first part of Robinson's remark, that the object is indistinct, may be granted; the second part however, is wrong. The fact is, the object *may* not

[1] But the fracture, where it was attached to the leg, is still visible.

be a boxer's strap, but it is surely not a bow. Anybody can convince himself of this who takes the trouble of looking at the original, or at the cast, or even at the excellent plate, *J. H. S.*, I, Pl. IV. Ordinary photographs are, of course, insufficient.

PLATE 68. Cassel Apollo. Of marble. Museum, Cassel. Above life-size. Bought in Rome, between 1770–1780, provenience unknown. It was badly broken, but has been put together with very few modern additions. Robinson (supplement) No. 86; Reinach II, 97, 6.

PLATE 69. Apollo. Of bronze. Museum, Naples. Discovered in the House of the Citharist (excavations begun 1853, completed 1868). The house was named after the statue, which is supposed to have held a cithar. Mau-Kelsey, pp. 352 and 536; Reinach II, 97, 1.

PLATE 70. Apollo. Of marble. Museo delle Terme, Rome. Of colossal size. Found in fragments, and at different times, in the Tiber. "The right leg below the knee, a portion of the lowest part of the left leg, the lowest third of the stump and the plinth are modern." (Helbig, No. 1028); Reinach II, 97, 8.

These three Apollo types[1] undoubtedly belong to the Transitional Period. They bear certain family resemblances, but exhibit also fundamental points of difference. All three are copies of possibly bronze originals, and only one has retained the material of the original. The Cassel Apollo is a god, because he is given the most beautiful body the artist knew how to carve. He is neither brought in connection with the spectator, nor is he represented as capable of divine impulses. He is objective in the extreme. Compared with the Apollo of Olympia, Plate 86, he is carved with greater skill, but with much less feeling. In him, and in his kind, we may

[1] The term "Apollo type" is no longer used in the sense of Plates 11ff., where Apollo was put in quotations to indicate "so-called."

see the precursors of the Polykleitean school, whose desire and sole end was to represent the *body* as well[1] as possible.

Very different is the Apollo from Pompeii. Restore in mind his cithar, and you can imagine yourself listening with the god to the dying strains of his tune. He still holds the plectrum, and the position of his fingers around it is unchanged. This Apollo is self-centered, impersonal and yet interesting.

The third Apollo is another kind of a god. He is our god. The gentle bend of his head, best seen in a profile or in a back view, speaks of sympathy. He is divine, because he is extremely human.

On this account Petersen's suggestion,[2] that the original of the Roman Apollo was an early work by Pheidias, has met with much approval. Petersen believes the statue to be a copy of an Apollo who was a part of the bronze group erected[3] in Delphi from the spoils of the battle of Marathon.[4] Apollo, Petersen says, laid his hand kindly on the shoulder of Miltiades, on whose head Athena was placing the wreath of victory. This view, however, charming as it is, is unfortunately not supported by irrefutable arguments, the best point in its favor being that there are equally few arguments, or facts, that can be advanced against it.

The Pompeii bronze, with its stockier proportions, is claimed for a Peloponnesian school on the strength that a generation later heavy dimensions were characteristic of the work of Polykleitos, the greatest of the Peloponnesians.

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[1] See E. von Mach, pp. 248ff. [2] *Röm. Mitth.* 1891, pp. 302ff. and 377ff. [3] Pausanias X, 10, 1; *S. Q.*, 633. Doubts have been expressed as to the accuracy of the information of Pausanias. [4] This group must date from the time of the ascendency of Kimon, whose father Miltiades was the prominent figure of the group.

16 AND 17. SIDES OF THRONE, TERME.

Equally unfounded, because based on similarly insufficient data, is Furtwängler's[1] attribution of the Cassel Apollo to Myron. The student of art fortunately is little disturbed by these failures of definite identifications. He enjoys the beauty of the figures irrespective of the great reputation of the men who are said to have made them.

PLATE 71. Nude Statue of a God or Hero, sometimes called "Zeus." Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Colossal statue, formerly in Villa Albani; provenience unknown. Acquired for the Glyptothek in 1815. Restorations: both lower arms and the objects they hold, the tip of the nose and other minor parts. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, No. 295; Reinach I, 504, 1.

The name which we should give to this statue depends on the attributes which the figure originally held in his hands. The elbow of the left arm is antique, and shows that the direction of the lower arm is properly restored. The pronounced biceps seem to indicate that the object in the hand was of considerable weight and could, therefore, be neither the sword, as the restorer thought, nor the eagle of Zeus, as has since been suggested. The right arm shows no muscular tension; the hand held a light object, the place of attachment for which is still visible on the right leg slightly below the level of the hand. In the absence of all analogies it is, of course, futile to speculate what these objects might have been, and subsequently what the proper name of the statue is.

The pose of the figure is comparable to that of the Apollo from Pompeii, Plate 69, although it is less easy. It is dignified, to be sure, but the more one compares it with other statues of the same general design, notably the Doryphoros after Polykleitos, Plate 113, the more one realizes its shortcomings.

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[1] *Masterpieces*, pp. 190ff.

Head and legs seem to indicate a rhythm which the body does not continue. It is as if the artist, by inspiration, had felt this rhythm, but had lost it in the severe task of carving it in marble. The front view of the body is stiff, and interesting only in conjunction with the head and the legs. In the profile view the artist has succeeded better, and there, curiously enough, only by a peculiar device. He has made the "hero" throw out his chest, giving him a delicate curve from the shoulders to the small of the back and out again to the hips. The additional mass, however, of projecting pectoral muscles and the surrounding parts may account for the difficulty the sculptor had with the front view.

The statue is also interesting as being one of the first good statues of bearded men.[1] It is noticeable here that the beard is represented because it belonged to the type, and not because it offered the artist an especially beautiful motive.

PLATE 72. Spinario (Boy with a Thorn in his Foot). Of bronze. Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline, Rome. First heard of in 1471, when Sixtus IV founded the Capitoline Collection. Helbig, 617; F. W., 215; Robinson, 91; Overbeck II, pp. 182ff., with full bibliography, p. 186, fig. 186; Collignon I, pp. 416ff. For comparison of the head with that of an Ephebe in Spain (picture of Madrid Ephebe) see *Rev. Arch.*, Vol. 39, pp. 322ff.; Reinach I, p. 344, 6.

Early Greek sculpture runs along types. It is unusual to find only one representative of a class, and when one does find a statue standing alone, one is apt to be at a loss how to account for it.

The Spinario is such a statue. Scholars are still undecided and of many varied opinions, in spite of the momentary truce which has been declared, everything having been said that can

[1] Compare this head with the head of Zeus, Plate 49.

be said. There are two camps. The ones — their champion is Overbeck — believe that the Roman Spinario is a very late and reactionary adaptation of a Hellenistic original, more accurately copied in the London Spinario, Plate 284. They say the piece is a genre group and, as such, impossible before the autumn days of Greek Sculpture. The London statue is, as all agree, a Hellenistic work. The Roman bronze, which represents the same motive, is an adaptation of it, made at a time when there was a craze for "archaic" art. Such a time occurred during the activity of the school of Pasiteles (see below). Pasiteles and his followers chose to carve well-developed conceptions in old and slightly halting forms. Such forms are found in the bronze Spinario. He is, therefore, the adaptation of a Hellenistic type carved in the retrospective style of Pasiteles.

The opponents of this view, with Wolters (F. W., 215) as spokesman, object on several grounds. In the first place, not only the face, but all the forms show notable points of resemblance with the Olympia sculptures.[1] Secondly, the hair is far from being noteworthy for its casual and natural appearance, as is the case in the Hellenistic age, which has left its unmistakable traces in the Pasitelean works. Thirdly, the statue need not be understood as *genre*. A very definite incident may be represented, say a young Olympic victor winning the race in spite of a thorn in his foot.

Thus far the arguments pair off about even. Zimmermann,[2] however, has added an observation which may be turned into a more decisive argument. The long hair of the Spinario does not fall, as it would naturally fall, over the cheeks, but down the neck, as if the boy were standing erect. It may be granted

[1] For the face, see the Apollo, Plate 86; for the form of the body, the crouching boy. [2] Knackfuss und Zimmermann, Vol. I, p. 78.

that Pasiteles (or his followers) were capable of representing the old Greek forms, that they knew how to change the short hair of the London statue to the long hair worn in earlier centuries, that they even knew how to carve it with accuracy; but it is incredible that they should have made, in the advanced archaistic age in which they lived, the change from short to long hair without realizing that the long locks would either obstruct the view of the face, or would have to be carved unnaturally. If they did not want to obstruct the view, they might have tied the hair up with a ribbon.[1] This they have not done, so that we may see in the Spinario the work of a man familiar with making standing figures and unacquainted, as yet, with the changes that a drooping posture demanded. The arrangement of the hair is in keeping with the unruffled folds over the arm of Orestes, Plate 55, or of the figure mounting a chariot, Plate 56.

A further argument against the view of Overbeck is found in the fact that one has the greatest difficulty in seeing the face of the Spinario. From no point does it appear to its best advantage. The forms of the boy also, which are lovely and pleasing in lines, are not always convincing.[2] The very opposite we expect of the Pasitelian school. Their composition would have been, owing to long training, immaculate, while their modelling of detailed parts might have been wanting in delicacy.

In view of all these observations, the fact seems to be established that the Spinario was made during the Transitional Period, and that it proved popular and was frequently copied,[3] not indeed accurately, for its shortcomings were realized.

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[1] Compare Plates 479 and 480. [2] Overbeck says the statue was intended to be seen from below. Even this does not give one a good view of the face, while it loses much of the charm of the present aspect. [3] For a list of copies see Helbig and Overbeck.

Our interest is not so much in what the boy is doing, as in the boy himself. (The opposite is true of the London marble.) We are apt to think of him as he would appear if he stood erect, and we know instinctively that he would be fully as lovely as the original of the girl, Plate 73.

PLATE 73. Victor Statue of a Girl Racer. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Exact date and place of discovery unknown. Bought for the Vatican Museum by Pope Clement XIV (1769–1775) from the Barberini family, whose estate on the Palatine embraced the area of the old stadium of Domitian, in which girls' races were held. Restorations: both arms, except the parts close to the shoulders, the nose and parts on the plinth.

The marble statue even more than its photograph suggests a bronze original. By removing the support,[1] the figure gains "an air of greater freedom and nobility," and by changing the wrongly restored arms to positions expressive of eager attention, waiting for the signal for the race to start, a glimpse of the surpassing beauty of the original is gained.

Helbig says, "The still somewhat stiff style agrees admirably with the girlish naiveté, which the artist seeks to express." The subject is perfectly suited to the style of the sculptor. It is this fortunate, and no doubt accidental, unity that makes of this statue a masterpiece; but it cannot blind us against the fact that the sculptor himself was yet far from being what we call a master. Placed before another task, for instance, of posing his girl like the Spinario, Plate 72, he might have failed.

To the careful observer the unnaturally high ears and the

[1] Unnecessary in bronze. The palm branch on the support shows that the copyist, who knew the original, understood it to be a Victor statue.

long chin are the clearest indications of the early origin of the figure. The modelling of the nude is exquisite, the legs and knees being most especially beautiful. The face is interesting, but, in keeping with the time, not expressive. The small mouth deserves much attention.

Like the Spinario, Plate 72, this girl has been assigned [1] to the eclectic school of Pasiteles. Since the Spinario, however, cannot belong to that school, as was proved above, there is no further reason to doubt the origin also of the racing girl in the Transitional Period.

PLATE 74. So-called "Penelope." Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. Restorations: the head, which does not belong to the statue; the shawl, falling on the shoulders from the head; the right hand; the right knee; both feet; and the rock, which has been supplied instead of the original chair with the work-basket underneath. Helbig, 191 (cf. 92 and 589); F. W., 211, who wrongly believes the head belongs to the statue; Robinson, 95; Reinach I, 504 (cf. II, 689, 1 and 2); Knackfuss-Zimmerman I, p. 78, fig. 55 from the restored cast. For the head, *Berlin Catalogue*, 603, see Plate 453; all the illustrative material *Antike Denkmäler* I, Pls. 31 and 32, head p. 17; reproduced, Text Illustration 23.

The identification of this statue as Penelope rests upon an Athenian vase painting (Helbig I, p. 54, fig. 7) and upon two Græco-Roman terra-cotta reliefs on which Penelope is thus represented. The type, however, is a common one also for other figures, Elektra for instance, on an inscribed terra-cotta relief [2] (Overbeck I, p. 220, fig. 54), while several fragments of similar statues are extant. The work-basket under the chair, which it is now sure ought to be supplied for the modern rock, suggests, by its correspondence to grave reliefs (see so-

[1] Overbeck II, p. 475. [2] Rayet, *Catalogue de la Collection d'Antiquités* (of the Louvre) doubts the genuineness of the inscription on the relief.

called "Ino Leukothea" relief Plate 367b), that also the Vatican figure may have served as a grave monument.

The wrong head and right hand have introduced a disturbing element. The beautiful head in Berlin, Plate 453, ought to be supplied, and be bent until it rests easily against the knuckles of the hand. At once the statue gains in unity. This is best seen in the cast in Bonn (Knackfuss-Zimmermann I, p. 78), where these restorations[1] have been carried out, and in the Text Illustration No. 23.

With all the charm that this new Penelope possesses, there remains a decided awkwardness of pose, which is the more noticeable as the pose is intended to be easy and fortuitous. The sculptor, no doubt, had difficulties in distributing the masses of a body which he had not yet studied in any except in erect poses.

The technique of the figure is further remarkable in that it is flat. Only one side is finished, the other is almost smooth, as if it had been placed against a wall. If it was surrounded by a shrine, as many grave reliefs were (see Grave Reliefs below) the effect was that of a high relief. The carelessly wrought left hand and wrist suggest a high position for the monument, where the seat hid it from view. The folds of the drapery on the upper part of the body are admirably graceful and easy.

PLATE 75. So-called Hestia. Of Marble. Torlonia Museum, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. Formerly in Giustiniani collection. The only restorations are the end of the nose and the forefinger of the left hand. Robinson, No. 84; F. W., No. 212; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 23, 81; Reinach I, 449, 7 (under the name of Vestal).

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[1] All except the chair to take the place of the rock.

This statue is so beautiful that Wolters (No. 212) believes it is an original Greek temple image. He answers the objections of those who see in it a marble copy of a bronze original, by referring them to the Aigina marbles, Plates 78 to 83, which show the same sharp eyebrows and eyelids, and the same wiry treatment of the hair. His point, however, although apparently well taken, carries not sufficient weight, because he concedes in it the reminders of bronze technique [1] in the statue. To decide to-day whether these reminders are due to the original sculptor who carried his bronze technique over into marble, as did the Aiginetans, or whether they are due to the copyist who carefully kept the traces of the metal technique of the original, is obviously impossible.

The name of the statue is equally indeterminable. Robinson well remarks that "the severity which characterizes the statue both in the face and in the marked simplicity of the drapery . . . was not wholly intentional on the part of the sculptor, but rather that it marks a certain stage in the development of Greek sculpture." As long as it was believed to be intentional, the name Hestia [2] or Vestal Virgin seemed to be the only appropriate one. The discovery, however, of the Olympia figures, Plate 84ff., especially of the figures of the East Pediment and of the metopes, has shown that this was the characteristic way of this period of representing all draped women. In the absence of attributes or other distinguishing marks, it is, therefore, impossible to give a definite name to the statue.

Equally impossible is the attribution of the statue to a definite artist. Robinson compares its face with the so-called Apollo with the Omphalos, Plate 66, and tentatively suggests

[1] Very noticeable in the curls falling on the neck. Compare also the Cassel Apollo, Plate 68. [2] Hestia is the Latin Vesta.

18. HERAKLES AND THE STYMPHALIAN BIRDS METOPE.

19. STATUE OF A WOMAN, COPENHAGEN.

Kalamis. Kalamis, however, is out of the question, if the correspondence in the faces is really as strong as Robinson believes, which is extremely doubtful; for the "Apollo" is more probably the work of Pythagoras of Rhegion. The statue has, moreover, in spite of all its dignity, little of the inexplicable charm which we are told [1] marked the figures of women by Kalamis.

A comparison of this statue with the Charioteer of Delphi, Plate 60, is very instructive. Softness there has been substituted for sharp angularity here, and slimness has taken the place of the strong physical development of this woman.

The motive of the hand resting on the hip is here met with for the first time. It was to play a prominent part in Greek art.[2] Compare the right arm of this figure with the left arm of the "Marble Faun," Plate 195, and notice the mastery of the fourth century sculptor as compared with the first atempt of the "Hestia" artist.

Another interesting comparison is made between this figure and the similar torso in Copenhagen, Plate 77. There the straight masses of the heavy folds are most pleasingly broken by the projecting left knee. Here, as there, the weight of the body seems to rest on the right leg, but the left leg is not sufficiently bent to become noticeable in the lines of the drapery. The body, in fact, is not revealed under the skirt of Hestia,[3] and if it were not for the mastery with which the folds are carved, we should be tempted to compare the "Hestia" with the "Hera" of Samos, Plate 22 — however, only to be convinced of the wonderful advance which the artists have made,

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[1] Lucian, *Imag.* VI. [2] About one thousand years later Donatello struggled again with this problem. [3] The garment does not reach to the floor. The variety of the bottom folds, found in later statues, is therefore completely absent here.

and to be led to a fuller realization of the large number of things which they had to learn before they could carve really masterful draped female figures.

The motive of the drapery of "Hestia," the Doric chiton without an upper garment, occurs on the Herculaneum "Dancers," Plate 76, on the figure from Copenhagen, Plate 77, on the Athena Parthenos, Plates 96ff., and on the Maidens (Karyatides) of the Erechtheion, Plate 166, which latter figure, more than any other, shows the modifications of which the type was capable. A very pleasant motive is found in the Herculaneum figures, now in Dresden, of dignified women (Plate 208) where the outer garment is added. The folds of the *himation* pulled about the figure enabled the artist to express some of the feelings of the person that wore it.

PLATE 76. Statues of Women Dressed in the Doric Chiton, so-called Dancers. Of Bronze. Museum in Naples. Discovered in Herculaneum during the early excavations. Reinach I, 457, 5 and 6; II, 425, 8; I, 457, 2. Cf. similar bronzes, Reinach II, 643, 1–3, 6–9.

These three bronzes, doubtless copies or imitations, more or less accurate, of Greek works of the Transitional Period, show many points in common with the Giustiniani "Hestia." They lack, however, her noble dignity[1], and seem to be showworks, made for the delight of a wealthy Roman, rather than conveyers of inspired ideas on the part of the artist. Figures like these frequently occur as mirror handles[2] or other supports, and it is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that these three figures from Herculaneum are enlargements of such little figures and not copies of original statues. The heads of all the "Dancers" follow the weight of the body, a

[1] On the quality of these bronzes see Otto Benndorf, reviewed *A. J. A.*, VI, 1902, p. 467. [2] See Baumeister *s. v.* Spiegel.

fact which speaks in favor of copies rather than of late imitations of earlier works.

Another possibility is not excluded, namely, that these three [1] figures were made to illustrate the wearing of the old Doric chiton. Whether intended for this purpose or not, they serve it well. The Doric chiton is a large sheet, about twice as wide as the person is tall, and one or two heads longer than the height of the wearer. When the lady intended to put it on, she turned over an *apotygma* or bib, and then slipped it on from her left.[2] She clasped it on her shoulder, tight around the neck and loose in front, with the result of a triangular fold, as is seen in all three of these statues.[3] This is the garment as worn by figure one. The other two have proceeded slightly differently. In the turning over of the apotygma they have turned over less of the half of the garment that makes the front. This made the dress, when they clasped it on the shoulders, much longer in front than in the back, where it just touched the floor. In order to get rid of the superfluous length in front they belted [4] the garment and then pulled the dress up over this belt to fall in a kolpos (bag) below the edge of the apotygma. Great variety could thus be introduced by making the apotygma, and consequently the kolpos, larger or smaller. The length of the apotygma in the back remained the same. The length is seen in number three.

PLATE 77. Torso of a Woman Draped in the Doric Chiton. Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg (Copenhagen). Date and place

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[1] And the other three found with them. [2] This left the garment open on the right side (cf. Lemnian Athena, Pl. 95). Sometimes it was sewed up from the bottom to about the waistline. [3] These folds show well also on the Olympia metopes, Plates 90 and 91. [4] Possibly also No. 1 has a belt under the apotygma, but she has no folds pulled over it.

of discovery not known. Height 1.57 M. (official catalogue, No. 24). For the separately inserted left fore arm, now lost, see the practice of the Akropolis figures, Plates 25–30, and the torsi from Delos, Plate 31; Reinach II, 644, 6.

This statue is especially interesting, when it is compared with the Giustiniani "Hestia," Plate 75, and the Maiden from the Erechtheion, Plate 166, between which it holds a middle place. There is sufficient variety here to relieve the monotony of the former figure and, on the other hand, less fussiness around the hips than threatens the harmony of lines in the Maiden. The apotygma shows a few more folds than that of the "Hestia," but is far from being as graceful as that of the Athenian girl. The length of the garment, reaching to the floor, and the protruding toes are noteworthy motives, which might have given the artist the opportunity of introducing beautiful folds. The greater bend of the left leg completely changed the treatment of the garment on this side. Yet neither opportunity did the artist know how to improve.

This statue, therefore, illustrates the transition from the slightly stiff to the perfectly easy. In some ways it is more advanced than the Lemnian Athena, Plate 95, which is treated in the next period as the work of Pheidias. In spirit, however, it belongs so unmistakably to the Transitional Period that it finds its proper place here and nowhere else.

PLATES 78–83. Figures from the East and the West Pediments of the Temple of Aigina. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. The majority of these figures were discovered on Aigina in 1811. They were acquired in 1812 for the crown prince of Bavaria, afterward King Ludwig I, and removed to Rome in 1815. Here Thorwaldsen modelled the restorations, while the execution in marble was entrusted to various other sculptors under the supervision of Wagner. The groups were removed to Munich in 1828. For complete bibliography see Furt-

wängler, *Catalogue*, pp. 77ff., which includes the most perfect description and discussion of the sculptures. E. von Mach, pp. 182ff. (see also pp. 178ff.); Robinson, Nos. 60 A–O; F. W., 69–85; Reinach I, 815ff., with some inaccurate restorations. For the more recent discoveries see *A. J. A.*, Reviews, V, 1901, p. 338 and VI, 1902, pp. 68ff. For the date of the sculptures see Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, pp. 161ff., who says, "either just before or soon after 480 B. C."; Gardner, p. 201, Tarbell, p. 156, who place it just before 480 B. C.; Overbeck I, p. 164, about 500 B. C.; E. von Mach. p. 182, later than the Persian wars. Restorations: for all the details see Furtwängler's *Catalogue*.

All the facts concerning the Aiginetan figures are so completely and so clearly set forth in Furtwängler's *Catalogue*, that one might say the last word was spoken, if it were not for the more recent discoveries. These new discoveries, however, have hardly been sufficient to warrant noticeable changes in his arguments, which, in so far as they have not been noted in the discussion of these pediments, E. von Mach, pp. 182ff., are as follows:

1. The present arrangement of the figures, parallel to the wall, is wrong. They ought to be arranged slantingly, as is proved by their uneven corrosion and by the fact that they are finished all round. The fallen men ought to be pushed close into the corners.

2. This makes it possible to put many more figures in the pediments, probably even more than fourteen.

3. By the slanting arrangement of the figures the group gains in vitality.

Furtwängler's observation that the figures originally were arranged slanting to the wall is extremely interesting. It suggests that the Aigina pediments were carved under the same influences that were in force when some of the Treasury friezes in Delphi were carved (see Plate 43). It means the denial of the particular space which the figures filled rather

than the submission to its limitations, which characterizes the Akropolis Sculptures.

That such an arrangement would have broken the present monotony is self-evident. It may, however, be doubted whether much life would have been added. The fundamental defect of these figures, which are "pictures of men"[1] and not real living men, remains the same.

The interpretation of the "Kneeling Spearman," Plate 78, as running[2] substitutes one defect in the endeavor of removing another. Because a spearman seems out of place behind a bowman, Kalkmann and Furtwängler see in him the last instance of the archaic representation of running,[3] which drew the figures as kneeling. Such a decided archaism seems very much out of place in Aigina with its clear observation of nature. Kalkmann bases his argument on the fact that the knee of the Spearman does not touch the floor. This fact, however, is capable of another interpretation, which reflects more credibly on the sculptors. If this figure actually had knelt, it would have appeared from below, owing to the projecting cornice, as if it was sunk deep into the floor. In order to appear to be kneeling *on* the floor, the knee had to be slightly raised *above* the floor. It is this same accurate observation of appearances that accounts for the little block interposed between the capital of a column and the architrave of a good Greek temple. Only by raising the architrave above the capital does it seem, from below, to rest on it.

The essentials for the study of these figures, discussed E. von Mach, pp. 182ff., are:

1. The inadequacy of the large center figure of Athena, who takes no part in the battle.

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[1] E. von Mach, p. 201. [2] Kalkmann, *Jahrbuch*, 1895, pp. 65, 74. [3] See E. von Mach, pp. 118, 119.

2. The unconvincing arrangement of the battle scene in two hostile camps, which results in only a few of the warriors having opponents.

3. The satisfactory filling of the corners, as furthest from the melée, with wounded men.

4. The superiority of the East Pediment figures over those of the West Pediment.

5. The most interesting figure is the fallen warrior, Plate 80. The double twist, the inability of the artist to carve an easy transition from the abdomen to the breast, and his successful device of hiding his failure by means of the arm are noteworthy.

6. The attention paid to details even on the backs of the figures,[1] which is in strong contrast to the Olympia sculptures, Plates 84–89.

7. Reflex action and *anima*, the breath of life, which characterized Myron, are absent from most of the Aigina figures, notably the Standing Spearman, Plate 81.

8. The eclectic use made of the curve of the mouth,[2] wrongly called the "archaic smile."

9. The incongruity between the freedom of the male figures and the constrained representation of Athena, who may be compared to the Akropolis figures, Plates 25ff., and the women on the Harpy Tomb, Plate 53.

10. From the presence of Athena in both pediments it used to be argued that the temple was dedicated to her. The fallacy of this argument might have appeared even before

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[1] The importance of this all around finish is not lessened by Furtwängler's observation that the figures were placed on a slant. Even in such a position there is a considerable portion of the figure that does not show, and that consequently could be slighted with impunity.

[2] For the representation of the mouths see E. von Mach, pp. 154ff.

Furtwängler discovered the Aphaia inscriptions,[1] because several instances[2] are known of temple deities not represented in the pediments of their sanctuaries.

PLATES 84-89. Figures of the East and of the West Pediments of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia. Of marble. Museum, Olympia. Discovered during the German excavations of Olympia, from 1875 to 1881. *Olympia, die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalten Ausgrabungen*, edited by Ernst Curtius and F. Adler. Robinson, 65 and 66, with excellent references; F. W., 245ff.; E. von Mach, pp. 18ff. There are no restorations on the marbles, but many suggested restorations of the pediments. A list of references to the earlier restorations is given by Waldstein, *J. H. S.*, V, p. 198; and fourteen restorations of the Eastern Pediment are pictured in *Jahrbuch* XII, 1897, on plate facing p. 169. Several good articles, *Jahrbuch* VI, 91; *J. H. S.*, X, pp. 110ff. Treu's final and irrefutable arguments[3] for the arrangement of the centaurs on the Western Pediment, *Jahrbuch* III, 1888, pp. 175ff. Supplementary reasons, E. von Mach, pp. 194ff. The best article on the East Pediment, Konrad Wernicke, *Jahrbuch* XII, 1897, pp. 169ff. Excellent plate of the restorations, shading off the restored parts, Overbeck I, facing p. 309; reproduced, E. von Mach, Plate XIV, figures 1a and 1b. Head of Theseus, E. von Mach, facing p. 188.

Treu's final arrangements of both pediments (see E. von Mach, Plate XIV) may be considered to be substantially accurate. The only doubt attaches (in the East Pediment) to the distribution of the figures on either side of Zeus. Pausanias (V, 10, 6ff.) says Oinomaos stood to the right of Zeus; and this is variously interpreted as meaning from the point of view of the spectator or of Zeus.[4] Treu says the

[1] E. von Mach, p. 182. [2] See Tarbell & Bates, *A. J. A.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, pp. 18ff. [3] Strangely enough, not considered in their full bearing by Robinson, who clings to Treu's earlier arrangement, after Treu himself has given it up as impossible. [4] Right and left are used here, unless otherwise stated, with reference to the figures and not to the spectator.

spectator must be meant, because Pelops, as the designated victor in the race, ought to stand on the right of Zeus. Wernicke in his very illuminating article, referred to above, takes the other view. He follows Pausanias literally and succeeds in making a most convincing restoration. The only difficulty is that there are doubts as to the possibility of placing the figure he calls Myrtilos where he puts it. Treu says it is impossible, as proved by experiments with the casts in Dresden. Wernicke contends that the casts, owing to restorations, may be somewhat larger than were the originals, and that his arrangement is not impossible.

The charm of Wernicke's restoration consists in his breaking the monotony of the center group. Slightly in front, and a little to the right, of Zeus, he places an altar. Oinomaos and Pelops are advancing toward it. This is possible, because it is known, from the position of the rivet holes in the backs of these two figures, that they did not stand parallel to the wall, Oinomaos even less so than Pelops. Treu placing the king to the left of Zeus, says he is turning his back upon the god; Wernicke, placing him to the right and a little in front of Zeus, makes him advance toward the altar. Sterope, his wife, further back, is thought of as likewise advancing, ready to hand her husband the saucer for the sacrifice. When Oinomaos has finished, Pelops and Hippodameia will step up to the altar and perform their sacrifice.

The five stiff and lifeless center figures have thus been converted into persons engaged in a most vital action. By placing the women back of the men, Wernicke has broken the monotony of the lines and has added variety. The double row of figures finds its parallel in Furtwängler's new arrangement of the Aigina marbles, doubling[1] them up, as it were, to

[1] Not exactly one behind the other, but all slantingly, and some nearer to, others further away from the front.

admit more figures in the given space of the pediment. The other changes of Wernicke's reconstructions are of little importance, except his interpretation of the old man, behind the chariot of Oinomaos, in Text Illustration 22. He explains him as the charioteer of Pelops, and says he held the reins in his right hand. His objection to having the reins of the horses held by a groom squatting in front of the chariot seems to be well taken, in view of the accurate observation of nature that characterizes the Olympia sculptures. Nobody can stop horses when holding their reins in a sitting position under their heads. It may, however, be remarked that if the idea of the necessity of stopping the horses had occurred to the artist, he would not have put the reins in the hand of an old man, a hand, moreover, which at the same time supports the head. Neither objection, however, is fatal; neither interpretation conclusive. Wernicke's arrangement has the advantage that it places the stooping slave girl under the horses' heads near Hippodameia, perhaps to fasten the sandal of her mistress, making of the two a group similar to those often seen on Athenian grave monuments.[1]

All the other important points are discussed in full in E. von Mach, pp. 188ff. They have reference to the following facts:

The East Pediment.

1. The evidence as to the date of the temple, not later than 457 B. C., nor probably earlier than 470 B. C.

2. The subject of the East Pediment: the chariot race of Oinomaos and Pelops.

3. The difficulty of arranging the figures in the triangular space, and the only partial success of the sculptor.

4. The attention paid to the balance of masses, and the

[1] See Plate 371.

subsequent addition of a bronze coat of mail to the slighter Pelops. The holes of attachment are still visible.

5. Age differentiation in the men, character expression by means of pose and drapery in the women.

6. Exquisite observation of nature in the case of the old man.

7. Skill of representing the twist in Kladeos, Plate 85a, the figure in the right hand corner (from the spectator's point of view). Contrast it with the dying warrior from Aigina, Plate 79.

The West Pediment.

1. The subject: the struggle with the centaurs at the wedding feast of Peirithoos, king of the Lapiths.

2. The treatment of the battle scene, everybody having his opponent, in strong contrast to Aigina.

3. The design, suggestive, by means of its lines and masses, of a fierce struggle, but not of disorder.

4. Constant resolution of groups according to masses into other groups according to thoughts; the three center figures, for instance, which seem to belong together, really form parts of several groups, etc.

5. The necessity of following Treu's final arrangement of having the centaurs canter away from Apollo.

6. The noble conception of Apollo, Plate 86, in the center. The change in his drapery, introduced after the statue was carved, in order to make of him a more adequate center mass. The treatment of his hair, and of his ear, suggestive of a conservative technique not yet completely freed of conventions.

7. The touches of realism in the composition by having all the men, and even the boy, fight aggressively, while the women confine themselves to the defensive.

8. The bestiality of the heads of the centaurs; the calm

nobility, unruffled even by the fight, of the Lapiths and of Theseus.

9. The life of the entire composition, due to the action. The figures "do not stand or move as *any* one *must* do under similar circumstances, but as their own particular feelings dictate."

Pausanias names as sculptors of the pediments Alkamenes and Paionios. But dating these two men by other known works of theirs, it has been found impossible[1] to assign to them, especially to Alkamenes, the Olympia pediments. Lately, however, the old view that there were two sculptors of the name Alkamenes has been gaining ground.[2] A Hermes, Plate 112, recently discovered in Pergamon and inscribed with the name of Alkamenes, seems to be of too early a style, being about contemporary with the Olympia sculptures, to belong to the pupil of Pheidias, so that the Pausanias information may be correct after all.

PLATE 90. Herakles Bearing the Burden of Atlas. Discovered 1876. Museum, Olympia. Gardner, p. 228. For the head of the woman, cf. *J. H. S.*, V, Pl. 40, head in Madrid.

PLATE 91. Herakles Cleaning the Stables of Augeias. Discovered by the Germans, 1876. Museum, Olympia.

PLATE 92a. Herakles and the Cretan Bull. Most of the upper part discovered 1829–30 by the French, Louvre, Paris; the rest by the Germans, 1880. Museum, Olympia. For all the metopes see Overbeck I, pp. 332ff.

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[1] R. Förster, *Reinisches Museum* (new series), 38, p. 421. See also Gardner, pp. 231, 232.

[2] For Alkamenes I and II, see J. Six, in *J. H. S.*, X, pp. 110ff.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION 18. Herakles Offering the (now lost) Stymphalian Birds, or One of Them, to Athena. The seated figure discovered by the French, 1829–30, Louvre, Paris; the male figure discovered by the Germans, 1876. Museum, Olympia. Michon, *Les Sculptures d'Olympia Conservée au Musée du Louvre; Rev. Arch.*, Vols. 26, pp. 75–109, and 27, pp. 150–181.

PLATE 92b. Metope of the Theseion, Theseus and the Bull. Of marble. In its original place on the temple in Athens. Overbeck I, pp. 457ff.; fig. 119b.

The metope[1] sculptures of the temple of Zeus, unlike those of the Parthenon, were not attached to the outside of the colonnade, but to the temple proper, that is to say, inside the colonnade in a position comparable to that of the Parthenon frieze; the only difference being that the Olympia metopes did not continue along the sides of the temple; they were confined to the two ends.

They represent the labors of Herakles, and seem to have begun, if we judge by the chronological order generally assigned to these labors, on the back side of the temple, that is to say, the west. This was the first side the visitor noticed, and may thus have received more attention than the other, which really was the front. This view, if correct, may also account for the fact that the West Pediment, is more interesting than the East Pediment. The better sculptor, contrary to custom, may have been selected for the most noticeable, and not for the front, gable of the temple.

The labors of Herakles represented on the metopes were:

On the West side:

(1) The Nemeian Lion; (2) The Lernaian Hydra; (3) The Stymphalian Birds; (4) The Kretan Bull; (5) The Kerynetan Doe; (6) the Amazon.

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[1] For definition of metopes see E. von Mach, pp. 212.

On the East side:

(1) The Erymanthian Boar; (2) The Horses of Diomedes; (3) Geryon; (4) Atlas and the Apples of the Hesperidai; (5) The Stables of Augeias; (6) The Kerberos.

All of these, except the last, are mentioned by Pausanias, VI, 10, 9.

The style of the metopes, although in general keeping with that of the pedimental sculptures, is more careful. Some of the notable points of resemblance are, the drapery of Athena, on the Stymphalian Birds metope, which corresponds to that of the girl held by her hair in the left[1] corner of the West Pediment. In both cases the folds follow the lines of the bent leg, instead of falling vertically across them as would be natural. Secondly, the drapery of the woman, possibly one of the Hesperidai, Plate 90, which is of the same style as that of Sterope, Plate 84b, and not fundamentally different from that of Hippodameia, Text Illustration, 21. The same is true of the garment[2] of Athena, Plate 93. Thirdly, the treatment of the hair in most of the metopes, a smooth mass ready to receive the paint, is like that of several of the pediment figures. Finally, the body of Herakles, Plate 92a, resembles the male bodies in the center of the East Pediment; while the Herakles, Plate 90, is best compared with the second figure from the left hand corner of the same pediment, or with the third figure from the right hand corner of the other pediment.

The metopes of the "Theseion" represent partly the same subjects and partly similar subjects to those of the temple of Zeus, namely, the labors of Herakles and those of Theseus.[3]

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[1] Left from the spectator. [2] For the difference in these garments, one with a "kolpos," the other without, see the "Dancers" from Herculaneum, Plate 76. [3] See below, Plates 130ff.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the date of the "Theseion," which, however, seems to be later than that of the temple of Zeus. The metopes are in a poor state of preservation, but the comparison of the one representing Theseus and the Bull with the similar one from Olympia is very instructive. In Olympia, Plate 92a, the titanic power of the hero is matched against the brute force of the beast. The question is, "Who is the stronger?" On Plate 92b the man is insignificant, even slight, compared with the bull, whom he will conquer by a wrestling trick, of which he was the traditional discoverer. The question is, "What is more efficient, brute force or human skill?"

PLATE 93. So-called Mourning Athena. Of marble. Akropolis Museum, Athens. Discovered on the Akropolis in 1888. The upper left hand corner of the slab and parts of the left fore arm are restored. A. Fairbanks, *A. J. A.*, 1902, pp. 410ff., compares the relief with the picture on a vase and discusses all earlier views. See also Græf, *Deltion*, 1880, pp. 103ff.

The figures of women of the Olympia metopes invite a comparison also with the beautiful little relief of the so-called "Mourning" or "Thinking Athena." The small size of this relief, intended to be seen close at hand, may account for the greater elaboration of the folds of the drapery. Athena, however, wears the same garment as the women on the metopes,[1] although she has arranged it differently. She has turned over a bigger apotygma and has used the belt, over which her counterpart, Plate 91, has pulled the kolpos,[2] to fasten her apotygma. The part that is turned over is about equal to that on Plate 90, only that there it is ungirdled. Her hair, as far as it

[1] It may be a little smaller. [2] For kolpos and apotygma see Herculaneum "Dancers" Plate 76.

shows below the helmet, is much like that of the Hesperidai, while the nonchalant gesture of her right hand, resting with outspread fingers on her hip, carries a definite reminder of the Oinomaos[1] in the East Pediment. The inaccurate drawing, or rather suggested drawing, of her legs finds parallels in similarly thoughtless forms among the pediment figures. The woman carried off by the centaurs, for instance, on Apollo's right, seems to have only one leg, and the twist of her sister on the other side is impossible.

These observations place the Athena relief by the side of the Olympia sculptures, although one may hesitate to assign it to the same school on account of her differently shaped, and very differently conceived, head. The helmet worn by this Athena is the loose-fitting Korinthian helmet, which is best studied in the Perikles busts and in the grave relief now in Copenhagen.[2] It is a helmet that in battle is pulled down over the face (notice the openings for the eyes and the guard for the nose), but that is pushed up over the head at all other times. The Olympian Athena, Plate 91, wears the other, close-fitting or Athenian, helmet.

The design of the relief is worthy of careful study. The straight lines of the figure are in keeping with the traditional character of Athena, while the forward inclination of the body is expressive of a thoughtful mood. This inclination had to be pronounced in order to counteract the rigidity of the lines in the body of the goddess. It would, however, have appeared to be excessive, if it had not been overshadowed by the still greater forward slant of the spear. By comparison with the spear the body appears all but erect. This is the first instance of a Greek sculptor making use of what might be called " the

[1] Compare also *J. H. S.*, XXII, 1902, Pl. I, stele from Athens recently discovered, and p. 2, fig. I, relief of Herakles from Mt. Ithome.

[2] See below, Plates 406 and 356.

principle of *negative* suggestion,"[1] that is, suggesting *less* than is *actually* carved. The spear, therefore, becomes a necessity of the design. Its possibly unpleasant effect, however, as being one side of a very acute triangle, is counteracted by the stele at the right. This stele,[2] originally painted, may have contained the key to the meaning of the relief.

The beauty of the relief is not measured by such correspondences or details of design; it is inherent. The grace of its conception speaks in terms far more personal than are expressed in words. We do not know what Athena is doing[3] and we do not care; for we enjoy her presence, whatever it is that has brought her here.

PLATE 94. Relief of Three Women in Transparent Garments, so-called "Birth of Aphrodite." Of Marble. Museo Boncampagni. Ludovisi; now in the Museo delle Terme, Rome. Found 1887 in the grounds of the Villa Ludovisi, together with two other reliefs, Text Illustrations 16 and 17, one of a woman offering incense, the other of a woman playing the flute. Excellent illustrations, *Antike Denkmäler* II, Pls. 6 and 7. Helbig, No. 892, who gives a full bibliography.

The graceful lines of these figures and the light fall of their draperies, suggestive almost of flowing water, have given the relief the name of "Birth of Aphrodite." This goddess rose, according to tradition, from the sea.

The first formidable objection to this interpretation consists in the fact that the Greeks of the Transitional Period, to

[1] See E. von Mach, pp. 244 ff.; where this principle is discussed in connection with the "Kephissos" of the Parthenon, Plate 141. [2] It is by no means impossible to assume that the stele is an addition of the copyist, who took his type of Athena from a gem; for if this Athena is reproduced in an oval frame the need for a stable verticle line disappears. She appears as if designed for an oval. [3] For the several suggestions see bibliography Robinson (supplement) 87. One is that Athena is mourning at the grave of a warrior, whose stele is seen at the right.

which the relief belongs, were not in the habit of representing the elements by means of suggestive figures. Helbig is right when he says that if the sea was meant we should expect to see fishes and other sea creatures portrayed to designate it. But even granting that the inspired conception of an exceptional artist permitted a different representation, then the sheet from behind which Aphrodite is rising ought at least to show the same "watery" folds that characterize the garments of her attendants. This, however, is not the case. If it is possible, therefore, to explain these folds in another way, the interpretation of the relief as the Birth of Aphrodite cannot stand. Studied by themselves, the draperies of neither attendant appear to be "watery." The girl to the spectator's right seems to be dressed in two garments. The lower and heavier is close fitting, it follows the lines of the bent leg,[1] just as was the case with some Olympia figures. Over this close-fitting garment the girl wears another, a transparent one, falling in vertical masses. It is the difficulty of sketching the one garment over the other which accounts for the peculiar effect. The watery appearance is accidental and not intentional. The central figure, wearing only the transparent chiton, offered fewer difficulties to the sculptor.

These observations reveal the insufficient grounds on which the relief has been called the "Birth of Aphrodite," although they fail to substitute another interpretation. No interpretation, in fact,[2] has been suggested that is convincing. These three graceful figures, therefore, remain unnamed.

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[1] It is the right leg as is seen from the foot. The faulty drawing makes it appear to be the left. [2] Helbig's suggestion that the subject is that of a woman awaiting her accouchement, kneeling, according to an ancient custom, may be correct. If so, the relief is a good example of the delicacy with which Greek sculptors treated subjects that, to the ordinary mind, do not seem to lend themselves to an æsthetic representation.

22. CARREY'S DRAWINGS OF PARTHENON PEDIMENTS.

The design of the group is thoughtful and, barring the combination of the arms back of the central figure, very successful. Both the balance and the harmony of the composition, but withal its studied variety, call for attention. The two attendants, although very similar in appearance, are yet different in every line; and the seemingly symmetrical folds of the sheet in the center are, nevertheless, all of them, carrying the eye, in the direction of the gaze of the figure above. The modelling of the nude is good and expressive, the left fore-arm of the figure on the right clearly marking her readiness to drop the cloth and to reach down. This is a great achievement, for it means the conquest of the inertia of the material in which the arm is wrought. The hair of the center figure is noteworthy, there being no connection between the hair on the crown of the head and that below the fillet. This is a convention characteristic of the Transitional and the Archaic periods of Greek sculpture. Here, however, it is followed with so much delicate skill that it almost escapes notice. Only few heads are extant of which the same can be said, and most, if not all, of these bear striking resemblances to this relief. One is pictured, *Athen. Mitth.* VI, 1881, Plate VII, I, and another *J. H. S.*, XIV, 1894, Plate V.

This latter head has given Eugenie Sellers the opportunity of discussing the relief in Rome in detail, coming to the conclusion that it must be assigned to Kalamis.[1] She may be right, but with the data at our command, the case cannot be proved,[2] although it is possible to say that the style of this relief agrees more accurately with the reputed style of Kalamis than with that of anyone else.

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[1] The same view is advanced, *Röm. Mitth.* VII, pp. 31–80.

[2] The possibly correct attribution of this relief to Kalamis makes the suggestion mentioned above, that the "Hestia" is by him, appear deservedly ridiculous.

Part Four.

Fifth Century.

The name of Pheidias, which is lastingly and firmly connected with the Greek Sculpture of the fifth century before Christ, has led many people to believe that his works are that sculpture. Pheidias, however, was only one of many artists who, receiving a rich inheritance, added to it from the proceeds of their genius, and created works which not only pleased their fellow men, but which exerted through centuries, and down to our own generation, influences of supreme nobility.

Pheidias, too, was a beginner once, and his early works, no doubt, showed signs of the novice. We think of him, however, as of the man of matured ideas, and judge him by his later works, the more so as it has proved difficult to identify any of his earlier creations. It is the quality of his masterpieces that has given to the century in which he lived the now traditional character. For this reason it has seemed wise to detach the first thirty years after the Persian wars, and to treat of their sculpture in a separate period as works of Transition. The word of suggestion uttered above, not to believe that every work, because discussed in the Transitional Period, must have been made between 480 and 450 B. C., but rather to consider the affinity of spirit which classes it with indubitable works of that period, holds good also here All that is meant by placing a statue in the so-called Fifth-

Century group rather than in the Transitional Period is that it shows less of traditional conventions and more of the genius of the artist. In the case of a few statues it has been very difficult to decide which was the case. They have been included in the "fifth century" if they are important for the understanding of a later type.

Properly speaking, the Fifth-Century group includes the period of Transition. No name, however, having been assigned to the years after 450 B. C., and the public mind having accepted the identification of freedom of conception and of great skill with the fifth century, it has seemed wise to separate the two periods, and to be intelligible rather than logical.

PLATE 95. The Lemnian Athena, After Pheidias. Plaster cast of two marble statues in Dresden and a marble head in Bologna. Albertinum, Dresden. Over six feet high. Indentified by Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 1ff. Objections to Furtwängler's view by P. Jamot, *Monuments Grecs*, Nos. 21, 22, '93–'94; Furtwängler's reply, *Class Rev.*, June, 1895; Jamot's rejoinder, *Rev. Arch.*, 1895, Vol. 27, pp. 7–39; Furtwängler's final remarks, *Rev. Arch.*, 1896. Vol. 28, pp. 1–5, Vol. 29, p. 27, with pictures of gems; Furtwängler upheld by Studniczka, *A. J. A.* (Review), 1900, Vol. IV, p. 346; E. von Mach, pp. 208ff., 332; Gardner,[1] pp. 265 and note facing p. 167; Robinson, 109; Reinach II, 274, 7. The statue is to be restored with a spear in the raised left hand and a helmet on the lowered right hand.

The identification of this statue as a copy of the Lemnian Athena by Pheidias is, to the writer, convincing. None of the technical objections of its opponents have been unanswerable.

[1] Professor Gardner informs me that he intends to recast his objections to Furtwängler's identification. He does not accept it, basing his reasons now on the style of the statue, which he believes is not Pheidian.

The only difficulty is in replying to those who do not see the style of Pheidias in the statue. The style of Pheidias, however, is as yet something so elusive, based, or not based, on his connection with the Parthenon sculptures,[1] that it becomes impossible to argue the question. One thing is sure, if the original of this statue was not by Pheidias, then the chain of circumstantial evidence which Furtwängler has drawn tightly around his identification, must be explained away. This cannot be done by a mere profession of incredulity in respect to the style. It must be done by paring off argument against argument. This, however, no one has even attempted to do during the ten or twelve years that the new combination statue has been known. In view of these facts, it behooves us no longer cautiously to speak of the "supposed copy of the Lemnia," but to accept the force of the argument, whatever pet theories it may scatter, and to name the statue — as at present it certainly appears to be — the Lemnian Athena after Pheidias.

"The dignity of the statue is self-evident. It is a somewhat austere, though kind, conception of the patron goddess of Athens, and appeals to the imagination even more than to the senses. The statue was doubtless created under those influences which, by common consent, are held to have emanated from Pheidias. They are perfection of transmitted forms, and expression of a profound and divinely noble character."[2]

The second of these qualities can only be felt. It cannot be discussed. The first is capable of demonstration. It is best understood when one compares the statue with the Olympian metopes, Plates 90ff., the women of the East Pediment of Olympia, Plate 87, the relief of Athena, Plate 93, the

[1] See E. von Mach, p. 211. [2] Quoted from E. von Mach. p. 209, where a fuller appreciation of the statue is given.

Giustiniani "Hestia," Plate 75, and the Copenhagen torso, Plate 77.[1] It is then readily seen how naturally the type of the Lemnian Athena evolved, under the gifted hands of a great artist, from the earlier creations. Especially interesting is a comparison of the Lemnia and of the figure in Copenhagen. The latter marks the clinging to the conventional type and the mere refinement of details, the former shows the power of divining the latent possibilities of the old type and of embuing them with new life.

The pose of the head of the Lemnia also is noteworthy. Following the direction of the weight of the body, as all its predecessors do, it is yet full of individuality. In this respect it compares well with the Apollo from the Tiber, Plate 10. The drapery of the statue is short, leaving the feet bare. Later, in the Parthenos, Plate 96, greater variety in the bottom folds is procured by lengthening the garment. This was desirable, in view of the unpleasant appearance of those folds of the shorter garment which, for variety's sake, did not run straight down to the edge.

PLATES 96-100. Copies and Adaptations of the Athena Parthenos (the Virgin) by Pheidias. For the most complete list see *Abh. der K. Sächs, Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1883, and Th. Schreiber, *Athena Parthenos*; also *Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.*, 1901, Vol. IV, pp. 144ff., or the Review, *A. J. A.*, 1901, Vol. VI, p. 463; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1883, pp. 183ff. For the dimensions, *A. J. A.*, Series I, Vol. X, 1895, pp. 335ff. The old literature is cited and discussed by Michaelis in his standard book *Der Parthenon*, pp. 266ff. See also A. S. Murray, *The Parthenon;* Charles Waldstein, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias;* and

[1] Additional interesting comparisons are made between the statue and the statuette, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, fig. 5, p. 23; Reinach II, 293, 5; and the Athena, Reinach II, 800, 7, a statue much like the Copenhagen torso, Plate 77, but for a change of legs and the addition of a slanting aigis.

Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 10ff. For further literature see Overbeck I, p. 369, notes 25ff. Ancient descriptions, Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 645-690; Stuart-Jones, 104, 105.

PLATE 96. Small Statue of Marble. Madrid, Hübner, No. 10; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 279, A. "Very faithful" (*recht getreu*).

PLATE 97. Varvakeion Statuette. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Found in 1880 near the Varvakeion, the northern precinct of Athens. F. W., 467; Robinson, 413; Reinach II, 274, 2. Mechanically accurate, but otherwise very inferior.

PLATE 98. Lenormant Statuette.[1] Very small. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Found in 1859 west of the Pnyx. Unfinished except the face. Truer to the conception of the original than the Varvakeion statuette. Michaelis, p. 276, 1; F. W., 466; Robinson, 412; Reinach II, 274, 1.

PLATE 99a. Pergamon Copy. Of marble. Discovered during the German excavations. Museum, Berlin. *Jahrbuch*, 1890, p. 95; Reinach II, 293, 1. A late adaptation.

PLATE 99b. Colossal Statue by Antiochos[2] of Athens. Museo Boncampagni, Ludovisi, now Museo delle Terme, Rome. Restorations: both arms, parts of nose and lower lip, part of the edge of the aigis, the projecting part of the snake-knot, several folds of the drapery and the crest of the helmet. The restorer has spoiled the statue by retouching several places, notably the edge of the apotygma, where he has smoothed away several folds. Helbig, 870; Overbeck II, p. 452; Michaelis, p. 279, B.; Reinach II, 279, 7. One of the most faithful copies, barring the restorations.

PLATE 99c. So-called "Minerve au Collier." Colossal statue of marble. Louvre, Paris. Restorations: both arms and their attributes,

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[1] Another statuette is the bronze Athena in Turin. Found in 1828 in the bed of a river. Robinson, 414; Reinach I, 231, 2 and 3. "Full of mannerism" (*sehr maneriert*); Michaelis, p. 279.

[2] The first two letters having disappeared, the name, as Helbig suggests, may also be Metiochos.

23. "PENELOPE," PROPERLY RESTORED.

24. HERMES, PARTHENON PEDIMENT.

the nose and the lips, the heads of the sphinx and the griffins on the helmet, several locks and parts of the aigis. Fröhner, *Catalogue*, No. 112; Michaelis, p. 278, 3; Reinach II, 162, 3. Free copy.[1]

PLATE 100. Shield of Athena. Of marble. British Museum, London. Found in Athens, date unknown, acquired for the British Muesum, 1863. *British Museum Catalogue*, No. 302; Conze, *Arch. Zeit.*, Vol. 33, pp. 33ff.; Robinson, 415; Michaelis, p. 283, 34.[2] Sketchy and a suggestion of the original rather than of a copy of it.

In the Varvakeion statuette scholars have come to see the most accurate reproduction of the shape of the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias. The statuette is little more than three feet high, while the original was more than ten times this height. It is, therefore, impossible to receive any impression from the statuette comparable to that made by the gold and ivory Parthenos in Athens. Some of the other copies have retained more of the pleasing dignity of the goddess, but even they fall short of giving an adequate impression. The work of Pheidias was designed for the semi-dark of the sacred interior, it was made of materials of great intrinsic value, gold and ivory, and was doubtless conceived in forms capable of attracting attention in spite of the wealth in which they were wrought. Setting, material, size and design, all combined to impress the people, and of all, only the design reduced in scale and, therefore, distorted is left to us.

We have in consequence no right to judge Pheidias by these copies. What now impresses us as stiffness may once have appeared to be noble simplicity. A technical device, as for instance the heavy fold falling from the left knee to the ground

[1] For a new list of heads of the Athena Parthenos, see L. Pollak, *Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Institute* IV, 1901, pp. 144–150.

[2] A similar fragment is in the Vatican, Michaelis p. 284, 35; another in the Capitoline, Schreiber, Plate III, E3.

and designed to serve as a support,[1] is prominent and unpleasant in the diminutive copy. It was not noticed among the huge masses of the colossal drapery of the original.

The same may be true of the column[2] under the right hand, if it really formed part of the original design. Possibly — although it has been tried in vain to get a concensus of opinion in this respect — the column is a later addition. The apparent accuracy of the Varvakeion statuette, however, makes it unlikely that the singular support of the hand, which occurs also on several other monuments,[3] and which may even have been mentioned by Plutarch,[4] is an invention of the copyist. The figure of Nike was six feet high, so that the arm of Athena needed a strong support to carry such a weight. The question is, "Could an interior support of sufficient strength be devised to do away with the column?" Those who have unbounded faith not only in the genius but also in the ingenuity of Pheidias feel inclined to answer "yes." They may be right, and in that case suppose that the column was added when repairs became necessary, soon after the death of Pheidias. This would account for the presence of the column in several extant monuments, while, on the other hand, the absence of the column in the majority of reproductions of the Parthenos type cannot be used as a valid argument, if it is assumed that their several makers understood the column to be

[1] The internal mechanism of a colossal gold and ivory statue was very complex. The weight of the material was enormous. The statue consisted inside of a huge skeleton, with many beams and iron bars crossing and re-crossing. The fold from the left knee to the floor may have hidden a supporting bar. [2] The shape of the column is un-Greek. [3] See Overbeck, p. 369, note 26, and p. 352. [4] Overbeck, p. 369, note 30. Plutarch, *Life of Perikles*, chapter 13, says Pheidias had inscribed his name on the "stele," which is most naturally translated "on the column," although other translations are possible.

nought but a support which they, in their smaller statues, could afford to omit.

With the knowledge at our command at the present day, it is impossible to decide the question. We can at best offer guesses as to how the column came there. Either it was there originally, or it was introduced when repairs became necessary, or — and this possibility has perhaps most in its favor — it never formed part of the gold and ivory statue from which the columnless copies are derived, but was resorted to by a later sculptor, who made a colossal marble copy (now lost) of the Parthenos, which statue is reproduced in the column copies. There is no mention in literature of such a colossal marble reproduction, but literature is generally silent as to copies, while we know that late artists at times delighted in just such feats as the task of copying the Parthenos in a huge block of marble would have offered.

Compared with the Lemnian Athena, Plate 95, the Parthenos, in the most accurate copies, is of slender build. The Pergamon Athena in Berlin is far from offering a thin appearance. The appearance, however, counts. Multiplied by ten, the width across the shoulders of the Varvakeion statuette would offer powerful dimensions. It would then be judged by itself, and not, as is the case with the small statues, by its relation to the height of the figure. There is one other reason why the shoulders of the Parthenos could not be very broad. It would have carried the left hand, and consequently the shield and the snake, unpleasantly far away from the side of her body. This could have been obviated only if a different angle had been assigned to the forearm. Such a change, however, would have spoiled the symmetry of the design.

All this shows how erroneous it is to formulate a canon for the art of Pheidias from the analysis of the extant copies of the Parthenos, to call this his style, and to refuse to admit to his

circle all works that do not conform to it. The very opposite is the right course to take. Pheidias was known in antiquity as the man who adapted his designs to the places and to the conditions under which they were to be seen.[1] None of his statues of ordinary size, therefore, would show the proportions of his colossal temple images, so that the proof of a statue's *not* being by Pheidias may be found in its conformity to the Parthenos proportions rather than in its deviations from them.[2]

This ought to be remembered by those who refuse to accept the cogency of Furtwängler's arguments in respect to the Lemnian Athena, Plate 95, and who do so on the ground that the statue does not seem to exhibit the style of Pheidias. By "style" they mean, not the conception, but the mechanical execution, the distribution of masses, the general finish and the proportions. The proportions are different, and must be so. But with this one exception, there is a singular correspondence between the Lemnian and the Parthenos copies, allowing the latter to show a further development of the type of the former. The long apotygma belted with snakes, the low neck, the deep folds like flutings of a column, relieved by the smoother stretches of the bent left leg, and even the fold from the left knee down, which has become a supporting necessity in the Parthenos, are found in the Lemnian Athena.[3]

The several Parthenos copies collected on Plates 96ff., offer

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[1] See story quoted from antiquity, E. von Mach, pp. 41, 42.

[2] The same, of course, is true of the figures on the Parthenon frieze and on the metopes and in the pediments, if in them we see the style of Pheidias. They were not all colossal, to be sure, but they were to be seen at a height of about fifty feet and at a sharp angle.

[3] This fold is, of course, less pronounced in the Lemnia. It is, however, clearly seen in a profile view from the figure's left side. No such fold appears, for instance, in the torso in Copenhagen, Plate 77.

the best opportunity of familiarizing oneself with the technicalities of the style of Pheidias as manifested in this one statue. As such they are invaluable. As a guide to the grandeur of the Pheidian conception, they are useless,[1] except for those who have the power of divinition.

The subjects portrayed on the shield were the fight of the gods and the giants on the inside,[2] and a battle with the Amazons on the outside. The shield of the Varvakeion statuette is not decorated. The Lenormant shield[3] has a few diminutive figures, which occur also, together with others, on the fragment in London in the same bold and characteristic poses. The lack of unity in the London composition is probably due to the fact that the artist found it impossible, owing to the reduced size of his shield, to reproduce all the figures of the original.

The greatest interest attaches to the two figures immediately under the Gorgon, — the old man swinging his double axe, and his neighbor hiding the greater part of his face, with his right arm extended to fetch a blow. According to tradition,[4] the old man is Pheidias and the other Perikles.

PLATE 101. Athena Medici. Of marble (said to be from Carrara.) École des Beaux Arts, Paris. Date and place of discovery unknown, formerly in the Villa Medici, Rome. Sent to Paris between 1834 and 1841. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 27ff.; Furtwängler, *Intermezzi*, pp. 15ff.; F. W., 476; Robinson, 450; Reinach I, 238, 2.

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[1] Much better for this purpose is, for instance, the gem in Vienna, containing the head of Athena, signed by Aspasios, Text Illustration 12. For a head which has preserved its color, see Plate 459 and *Antike Denkmäler* II, Plates 31–34. [2] Overbeck recognizes a copy of this scene in a vase painting in Berlin, Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, Pls. 10 and 11. [3] Picture, Michælis, Pl. 15, 16. The very small size of the shield made the reproduction of many figures impossible. [4] Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 630, 668–671.

The vicissitudes that have marked the career of this statue until they have obliterated all traces of its history have shed their confusing light even over the discussions by various learned men. From the place near Pheidias which Wolters gives it, Robinson concludes "that it might even have been supposed to be a copy of this statue of the Parthenos," [1] while Furtwängler at one time dragged it to the center of the East Pediment of the Parthenon and then back again. Now all these theories have run their course unaccepted, except that of Wolters, which still has many supporters, although the Carrara marble of which the statue seems to be made speaks against it; for this marble was first quarried in Roman imperial times. If the style were really and unmistakably Pheidian, the assumption of the Medici Athena being an unusually faithful and spirited copy, might obviate this difficulty. This assumption, however, grants the late copyist a power not only of skill but also of perception so delicate that it becomes impossible to deny him an equal power of conception, and that is fatal to the unqualified attribution of the statue to the age of Pheidias.

The first thing that strikes the observer is a wealth of drapery motives and a nonchalant disposition of the legs. Placing himself in the attitude of the Lemnia, Plate 95, he readily appreciates the further development of the Parthenos, both poses naturally devolving from the erect position of the "Apollos," Plates 11ff., which, in all fifth-century works, seems to be the starting-point. Not so in the Athena Medici. She presupposes several changes. No simple sideway posture of the right leg accounts for the fall of her drapery. Several

[1] This could have been supposed only by those who are unfamiliar with ancient literature and with the description of the Parthenos there contained.

steps must have been taken, and the leg must have moved forward actively, before the heavy garment could have been pushed over to one side so much as to discover the right leg completely. She is not a standing figure like the Lemnia or the Parthenos, in the sense that she has long stood thus, and always will stand in this attitude. She is a standing figure because she has just stopped walking. Theirs is a position slightly more varied than that which may have preceded; hers is an attitude less lively than was revealed by her forms before she stood still. This implies ease of conception as regards moving figures, and such ease is not found in any indubitably Pheidian statue.

The contrast of the lower and of the upper garment as a conscious motive of beauty is also not known in the age of Pheidias,[1] so that the dignity of the figure, and the stability of the folds of the heavy chiton on the left side, and the long apotygma alone remain as possible arguments. The folds, however, on closer observation, are very different from those of the Parthenos. They are soft and not harsh, they are varied with an eye more to the beauty of the design than to their natural fall. This is clearly seen in the part of the garment which falls over the girdle, more especially immediately over the center.

Under these conditions it becomes impossible to look upon this statue as belonging to the immediate age of Pheidias. It rather shows the latent possibilities of the Pheidian creations, divined by a later admirer, and embued by him with new life, just as Pheidias had taken hold of the best he saw

[1] Furtwängler's contention that the two garments do occur in the fifth century is true only in so far as it refers to their co-existence in a few statues. Nowhere are they contrasted for the sake of the beauty of such a contrast.

in the works of his predecessors, and made of it the foundation of his own designs.

The exact date of the Athena Medici is indeterminable. We know as yet too little of the period of Roman art to which the Carrara marble most naturally would assign her, to attribute her to it with confidence. The appearance of the statue speaks in favor of its being an original rather than a copy.

PLATE 102a. Athena Farnese. Of marble. Museum, Naples. Gerhard and Panofka: *Neapel's Antike Bildwerke*, p. 41, No. 118; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 73ff.; Reinach I, 226, 5 and 6.

PLATE 102b. Hope Athena. Found in 1797 at Ostia. Now at Deepdene. Restorations: Both arms, the Nike, the spear, a part of the chiton and part of the snakes on the aigis, part of the toes on the right foot, and the Gorgon's nose and chin. Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, p. 290, No. 39; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 73ff.: Reinach I, 227, 3.

PLATE 102c. Athena. Of marble. Villa Albani, Rome. Found, date unknown, in Hadrian's villa on the Tiber. Restorations: nose, lips, back of the head, the nude parts of both arms, front of left foot and several minor parts, including the muzzle of the dog's skin. Helbig, 781; Furtwängler, pp. 78ff.; F. W., 524; Reinach I, 236, 6.

These three statues, of considerable resemblance to each other, and yet of one noteworthy difference in the case of the Albani Athena, show a different motive of drapery from the one discussed in its several varieties in the preceding statues. The artist has returned to the cloak worn over the undergarments by the Akropolis figures, Plates 25ff. Most of these early figures had the mantle fastened on their left shoulder, and so it is here with two out of the three Athenas. Fashion, however, has changed. The small cloak has given way to the heavy mantle, which, like an unevenly doubled shawl, is thrown over the shoulder. This new garment, when very large

reaching almost to the feet, has the peculiar effect of making the figure appear short, as is the case with the Albani copy. By showing more of the chiton below it, the artists of the other two statues have broken the extent of the straight front view, and have thus added to the appearance of height of their figures; while at the same time they have, by the lighter and more numerous folds of the undergarment, begun to relieve the monotony of the Albani statue. No conscious desire, however, is noticeable of enlarging upon this motive, as is the case with the Athena Medici, Plate 101. Divested of their peculiar draperies, these figures at once fall in line with the poses of the Lemnia and of the Parthenos, Plates 95 and 96ff., of which they mark a further development. This is most noticeable in the Athena Farnese, Plate 102a, which may almost be said to stand ready to walk. From her to the Doryphoros, Plate 113, is but one small step.

The Athena Albani used to be called "Athena with the Lion Helmet," under the misconception that the dog-skin cap[1] was a lion's head. The cap, however, is more probably the "cap of Hades," indicating the connection of this Athena with the powers of the lower world, as was the case, for instance, with an Athena worshiped in Koroneia.[2] The head is remarkably well preserved and of great beauty. Winckelmann thought this statue revealed one of the grandest conceptions of antiquity.

Furtwängler ventures to assign the Hope Athena to Pheidias, although he confesses never to have seen the origi-

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[1] See Helbig, No. 781. [2] Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 830; Pausanias IX, 34, 1; Strabo, IX, p. 411. The Athena of Koroneia was of bronze and was the work of Agorakritos, a pupil of Pheidias. The grounds on which Furtwängler, p. 81, assigns the Albani Athena to Praxias are so slight that they disprove rather than prove his case.

nal, while he attributes the Farnese Athena to a pupil of Pheidias. His only admissible arguments, which — unsupported however — are really no arguments, are that the type of these figures *might* be by Pheidias, that Pheidias would not have repeated himself, and that therefore one of the statues must have been made by one of his pupils.

PLATE 103. Draped Figure of a Woman, "Aphrodite." Of marble. Berlin. Bought in Italy. Restorations: the tortoise under the foot. Kekulé, *Eine Gewandstatue*; also *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1893, p. 74; Collignon II, pp. 131; Reinach II, 338, 6.

Kekulé has correctly recognized not only the fifth century style of this figure, but also that it is an original. Its "nobility and breadth of proportions" and its drapery bear strong resemblance to one of the "Three Fates" of the Parthenon, Plate 136, while the raised foot is a motive not infrequent on the Parthenon frieze. In lines and masses the figure appears to be a ready evolution of types like the Copenhagen figure, Plate 77; and, what is very interesting, it is the prototype of figures like the Aphrodite of Melos, Plates 291f.

The name "Aphrodite" for this statue seems to be correct.[1] Its attribution to Agorakritos, the pupil of Pheidias, is a guess which has not enough in its favor to make it a probability.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION 25. Apollo, so-called "Barberini Muse." Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Of colossal proportions. Discovered 1678 in Tusculum. Later in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, since 1815 in Munich. Restorations: the right arm, entire left lower arm, small parts of the lyre and of the garment, the tip of the nose. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 211; Reinach I, 254, 2.

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[1] See the collection of similar statues, Reinach II, 338.

25. APOLLO, "BARBERINI MUSE."

PLATE 104. "Hera" or "Demeter," "Ceres". Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Of colossal proportions. Date and place of discovery unknown. It is believed to be one of the colossal statues erected near the theatre of Pompey, because it was first heard of in the court of the Cancelleria, not far from the site of that theatre. Restorations: both arms, the right foot, four toes of the left foot, practically the entire nose and both lips, also parts of the chin and the lobes of the ears, several pieces of the drapery. Helbig, 297; Reinach I, 206, 1.

One glance suffices to convince one that these two statues follow the same type. They are of colossal dimensions and carry cloaks hanging down their backs — a new fashion — offering a pleasing variety to the artists. The peculiar, long drawn out fold near the left foot is identical in both statues. The folds, however, along the right legs are different, those of the one adapted to a standing position, those of the other to a slowly advancing attitude. The long apotygma of Apollo corresponds to that of the Parthenos, Plate 96. The apotygma of "Hera" is shortened, a device by means of which the artist has added to the appearance of the broad upper development of the goddess. It is this fullness that has given to the statue the name of "Hera," [1] the matron, the mother of the gods.

Apollo used to be interpreted as a muse, owing to his long garment. This was before we had learned that men at religious festivals and at other solemn occasions wore long gowns. Such a long garment is seen, for instance, in the Charioteer of Delphi, Plate 60, and in the Apollo of the Vatican.[2] Under the wrong impression that this figure was a woman, the restorer has added a wrong right arm. The arms of men, when they hang down at the sides, are

[1] For the interpretation of this figure as Nemesis after Agorakritos, see the bibliography in Helbig, No. 297.

[2] Robinson, 507; Reinach I, 255, 6.

straight, with the inner elbow joint turned to the side of the body; those of women commonly show a deviation from the straight line, and turn the joint to the front, as is the case here. The modern arm is very disturbing; it suggests a rhythm which the lines of the body do not carry out. It strikes a wrong key. The eyes of the figure are inlaid, as was often the case in antiquity. Now, when the figure has lost all traces of its original coloring,[1] they stare at one with uncanny glamor. The workmanship also is hard, but the statue nevertheless has preserved much of the dignity of the original.

PLATE 105. Hera, "Barberini Juno." Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Colossal statue. Found, date unknown, on the Virinal in Rome. Restorations: right arm, left fore arm, nose, and several pieces in the drapery. Helbig, 301; Reinach I, 198, 1.

PLATE 106. Hera, "Borghese Juno." Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen. Colossal statue. Found, date unknown, in a villa on Monte Calvi, together with two statues of Anakreon and several statues of Muses. Formerly in Villa Borghese. Restorations: both arms and several pieces of the drapery, most especially the end of the mantle below the waist. Glyptothek *Catalogue*, No. 224; Reinach II, 239, 8.

With these two statues we take one more step away from the calm simplicity of the Lemnian Athena, Plate 95. But so rapid was the development of Greek art that it is impossible to say how far in time the statues are removed from Pheidias. Some scholars say one hundred years, and assign them to Praxiteles.[2] Others say not more than a

[1] For the coloring of statues see E. von Mach, pp. 67ff.

[2] H. J. Massi, *Compendious description of the Museums of Ancient Sculpture in the Vatican*, p. 25, No. 546. The modelling on the left upper arm and on the folds near the feet is by no means fine enough to make the attribution to Praxiteles possible.

decade, and name as their sculptor, Alkamenes, the friend and pupil of Pheidias.[1] These latter possibly are right. The clinging drapery, fallen from one shoulder and arrested by the breast, finds its prototype in the "Fates" of the Parthenon, Plate 136. The pose is the natural successor of that of the Athena Albani, Plate 102c, while the severe and impersonal nobility fits the character of the fifth century better than that of any other age. The motive of the himation (cloak or shawl) is new, but its folds around the knees, and on the right leg, suggest those of the statues on Plate 102.

There are considerable differences in details between these two[2] Hera statues, aside from the wrongly restored corner of the garment in the Copenhagen figure. The Hera Borghese shows a more pronounced tilt, and wears a simple band (*opisthosphendone*) on her head instead of the broad *stephanos* of the Barberini Hera. Her chiton is more clinging, revealing more clearly the forms which it is intended to hide, and is arranged with more artificial exactness. It also leaves more of the neck uncovered, and is, therefore, probably a less accurate copy of the original.

The very prominent breasts of the statues, the certain something in the draperies of both that seems to call for attention rather than to permit the figures to be satisfied with simply being as they are, adds a disturbing element to the generally noble conception of Hera. This is doubtless due to the copyists who could not approach the significant motive without impressing on it ideas of their own

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[1] Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 63ff.; Arndt in his index to the Brunn-Arndt collection of plates. [2] Another inferior copy is in the Vatican, restored as Demeter; Helbig, 34.

less dignified age. The beautiful unconcern of the "Fates," Plate 136, similarly draped, is sadly missing in these two statues of Hera.

PLATE 107. Athena of Velletri. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Colossal statue. Found in 1797, near Velletri in the ruins of a Roman villa. Restorations: parts of the feet, both hands and parts of the lower left arm. The rest of the arm has been put together of ancient fragments, but was probably originally bent more in the elbow. Traces of violet color, once doubtless red, were found on one eye and on the lips. Fröhner *Catalogue*, No. 114; F. W., 1434; Reinach I, 162, 6.

In this Athena we meet the short Doric chiton of the Lemnia, Plate 95, the delicate adjustment of heavy folds of the torso Medici, Plate 101, and the freedom of pose and the arrangement of the cloak of the Hera Barberini type, Plates 105 and 106. The aigis has dwindled down to the appearance of an amulette of no integral connection with the figure. The extended left hand held a Nike, as Athenian coins reproducing this type show; the right hand rested on a spear.

No attributes are needed to convince one that this slender maiden is the virgin goddess, in strong contrast to the mature deity represented in the Hera Barberini. The shape of the head, long and rather thin, as befits the goddess of thoughtful wisdom, stands in decided contrast to the round face of the Parthenos, Plate 96, while it bears a strong resemblance to the busts of Perikles, Plate 406. On this account the Velletri Athena has been attributed to Kresilas,[1] who is said to have made the image of Perikles.

[1] See the convincing argument, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 141ff.

26. HERA OF VIENNA.

27. "SAUROKTONOS," VILLA ALBANI.

28. NIKE FROM COLUMN OF TRAJAN.

29. NIKE FROM ATHENA-NIKE TEMPLE

PLATE 108. Aphrodite, so-called Venus Genetrix. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Discovered about 1650 in Fréjus (Forum Julium). Formerly in the gardens of the Tuilleries, then in Versailles, now in the Louvre. Restorations: both hands and the objects they hold. The head and the visible part of the right foot were broken, but are antique. Fröhner, p. 116, no. 135; F. W., 1208; Robinson, 545; Assigned to Praxiteles by Brizio, *Bulletino*, 1872, p. 104, to Alkamenes by Furtwängler, Roscher's *Lexikon der Mythologie* I, p. 413, to Arkesilaos by Gardner, p. 506. Other literature, Overbeck I, p. 386, notes 11ff.; Reinach I, 172, 3 and 4.

This statue received its name from the legend "Veneri Genetrici" on a coin [1] of the empress Sabina, representing a similar statue. A Græco-Roman artist, Arkesilaos, is known [2] to have made a statue for the temple of Venus Genetrix in Rome, and it is on these grounds that the statue first was assigned to him. But as early as in 1869 Fröhner pointed out that the statue represented a much earlier type than was seen on the coin. This view is today almost universally accepted and, although there is no consensus of opinion as to the exact date of the statue, few side with Gardner, who still places it in the Græco-Roman period. Furtwängler's view that it might be a copy of the "Aphrodite in the Gardens," by Alkamenes,[3] a pupil of Pheidias, has gained ground of late, especially in view of the large number of extant replicas,[4] which indicate that the original was a statue of world renown. And this, the Aphrodite of Alkamenes, was beyond all other draped statues of that goddess.

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[1] See cut of the coin in Fröhner, p. 167. [2] Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 2268; Pliny, *N. H.*, 35, 155. [3] For another statue assigned to Alkamenes see *Antike Denkmäler* II, Pl. 22; *Arch. Anz.*, 1894, pp. 46ff. For his newly discovered Hermes see Plate 112. [4] For one other see Reinach II, 378, 4 and 6.

Compared with the other draped figures of women accepted in the realm of the fifth century, there is nothing to hinder the attribution of this Aphrodite to a prominent artist of this period. We must not look for exact parallels, granting a certain amount of inventive power to the artist. The pose, however, in the first place finds its parallel, or at least its prototype, in several figures (see Plates 102ff.). The cloak hanging in the back is also no innovation, nor are the gestures of the arms, except that the right arm is bent back in the elbow. The drapery fallen from the shoulder is found on the Parthenon "Fates," Plate 136, and on the Hera Barberini, Plate 105, which latter statue also offers a parallel for the clinging[1] drapery, while the long fold drawn back by the instep of the right foot is an echo of the similar folds on the Vatican "Hera," Plate 104, and on the Barberini Apollo, Text Illustration 25.

The appearance of the statue, dressed only in the thin chiton, is an innovation, which is, however, in keeping with the changes in the conception of the character of the goddess, which had begun to take place in the second half of the fifth century. The new motive is treated with great moderation, and is even, compared with the upper part of the Hera Barberini, distinctly chaste and modest. The statue itself is of poor workmanship. The modelling of the face is most especially inadequate. But even with these defects, the statue is charming.[2]

PLATE 109. Figure of a Woman Running. Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen. Date and place of discovery not

[1] The drapery clinging to the legs is as old as the Branchidai figures, Text Illustration 4.

[2] For the estimate of the ancients of the Aphrodite by Alkamenes, see Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 812–815; especially Lucian, *Imag.*, 4 and 6.

published. Restorations: end of nose and left elbow. Glyptothek *Catalogue*, No. 257; Arndt, Plates of the Glyptothek 38–40; Furtwängler, *Sitz. Münch. Akad.*, 1899, pp. 279ff. (Review, *A. J. A.*, 1901, p. 232) says the figure is part of the now lost pedimental composition of the "Theseion." Reinach II, 419, 2.

This figure was not intended to be seen on a level. Raised aloft, perhaps on the corner of a temple as an akroterion, it required unusual proportions in order to appear to be natural. This accounts for the elongated upper legs and other parts, which are unsatisfactory on close inspection.

The woman seems to be running from danger, pulling her garment as protection above her.[1] The scene whence she is fleeing fascinates her and she looks back. If she was an akroterion on one corner of the temple, the dreaded action from which she cannot turn her eyes may have been represented on the top of the gable. The rapidity of her onward movement is suggested by the bulging and fluttering folds of her garment. Her face, which is not unlike the Sappho head in the Villa Albani (see Plate 394a), is singularly calm for one in her position. It reminds one of the immovable Olympic features, Plates 84ff., and is in keeping with the style of the fifth century artists, who had not yet stooped to the representation of fleeting emotions.

There are few statues[2] extant with which to compare the Copenhagen figure. Two statuettes[3] of Leto fleeing with her children in her arms come the nearest to it. Collignon (II, p. 192) describes some fragments of acro-

[1] The same motive is found in several Niobids, Plates 220ff.

[2] Arndt gives a statuette in the text to his plates, 38–40, p. 16, fig. 36.

[3] Reinach II, 417, 6 and 7. See also one of the figures of the frieze of the temple in Phigaleia, Plate 178f.

teria figures found in Delos near the temple of Leto,[1] one of which was Aurora carrying off Kephalos in the center, and two fleeing nymphs at either side. The Copenhagen figure, therefore, might be a nymph from a similar scene. Arndt, on the other hand, with less probability identifies her with a Hermione by Kalamis, dedicated[2] in Delphi. Nothing is known of the way Kalamis represented the Delphic Hermione, but Arndt assumes it was at the moment when she was pursued by Orestes.

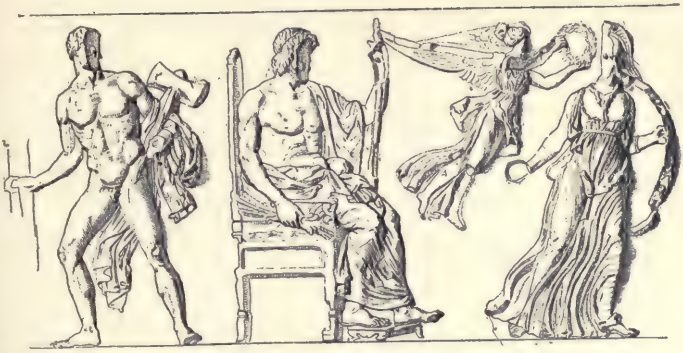
Whatever the statue represents, it gives the fifth century conception of a terrified girl fleeing from danger.[3] The same motive supplied the sculptor of (probably) the fourth century with one of the most impressive types created in ancient times, the Niobid Chiaramonti, Plate 221.

PLATE 110. Nike of Paionios. Of marble. Museum, Olympia. Discovered, the larger part of the statue, at the very beginning of the German excavations in 1875. E. von Mach, pp. 26, 120, 263; F. W., 496, 497; Robinson, 451; Reinach II, 379, 1. For a picture of the statue without the unæsthetic addition of the fragment of the head see E. von Mach, Pl. V, fig. 3. For a Roman copy of the head see *Röm. Mitth.* IX, 1894, pp. 162ff., Pl. VII.

PLATE 111. Restoration of the Nike of Paionios.

The chief defect of the picture of the excellent restoration is that it is taken almost on a level instead of from between eighteen and twenty feet below, as the original

[1] The probable date of this temple is 425 B. C. [2] Overbeck, *S. Q.* 522; Pausanias X, 16, 4. [3] Some people see in the "Iris" of the East Pediment of the Parthenon, Plate 138, a similar motive. It is, however, more probable that the figure is a hurrying messenger, and that the element of fear has had no place in her conception.



30. BIRTH OF ATHENA, MADRID.

31. HERMES BRINGING DIONYSOS TO THE NYMPHS.

was seen. The same defect, although not to the same extent, attaches to all pictures of the preserved torso of the statue. Her downward flight through space is thus arrested, and one of her greatest charms is lost. The eagle at Nike's feet formed her material support. It was, however, only partly carved, and for the rest painted, shading off probably into the azure of a blue sky, against which the goddess seemed to be relieved. The bulging drapery in the back and the heavy wings counterbalanced the forward inclination of the figure and formed another substantial support, which, however, did not appear as such, owing to the beauty of the modelling which transformed the heavy marble into the soft substance of a woollen mantle.

One stands aghast before the daring of Paionios, who, with seeming ease, has proclaimed himself master of all the difficulties that had baffled his predecessors. "Where has he learned this facility that turns obstacles to good advantage?" one asks; and there is but one answer, "From the genius mind that created the sculptures of the Parthenon." In daring, however, he has even surpassed anything that was created in Athens. He must have been a good mathematician too, in order to compute the counterweight which his inclined figure demanded, and to adapt this to his design so perfectly that even the close observer often fails to realize the magnitude of his achievement. Mathematics, however, were a strong point of the Argive school, so that we may not go wrong when we acknowledge the influence also of this school over Paionios.

A remarkably skilful device,[1] which is not seen in the

[1] Another device, the full bearing of which is seen by comparing the original with the restoration, is found in the support of the left foot, attached not at the toes, but further back, so that the toes (now broken) hid it from view.

illustration, consisted in changing the conventional shape of the quadrangular base to one of three sides. The ordinary base, of which the spectator generally sees more than one side at a time, would have offered, at the height of over eighteen feet, such a cumbersome mass of dead weight that the aerial flight of the goddess would have appeared to be retarded. The *one* side which was seen of the triangular base obviated this difficulty. If noticed at all, it was like a wall over which Nike was sailing.

The garment of the figure reminds one of the "Venus Genetrix," Plate 108. It is lighter, to be sure, and open on one side, as many Greek costumes were.[1] The mantle in the back finds its prototype in the cloaks on the backs of the figures on Plate 104 and Text Illustration 25, while the leg protruding from the garment, which indicates rapid movement, goes back to the Flying Figure from Delos, Plate 32.

PLATE 112. Hermes of Alkamenes. Of marble. Ottoman Museum, Constantinople. An inscribed herm, excavated in Pergamon, November, 1903. Announced by Dr. Schrader, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1904, p. 76. Discussed by G. Löschke, *Jahrbuch*, 1904, pp. 22ff., and by Conze, *Sitzerungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1904, Jan. 14, pp. 69ff.

The importance of the discovery of this Hermes cannot possibly be over-estimated. It is a later copy, to be sure, but the inscription[2] removes every doubt of its being a faithful reproduction of the original by Alkamenes. With this fact

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[1] Compare the garment of the Lemnia and of the Parthenos, Plates 95 and 96, which are, however, open on the right side.

[2] The inscription reads: "You will recognize that this is the beautiful work of Alkamenes, Hermes before the Gates. Pergamios erected it."

accepted, as accepted it must be, we are confronted with a dilemma: "How could Alkamenes, the pupil of Pheidias, the supposed sculptor of the Aphrodite, Plate 108, have carved a work of such a primitive style as this Hermes?" It may have been a work of his youth,[1] but its style resembles that of the Olympia sculptures, Plates 84ff., and the connection of Alkamenes with those sculptures, scholars have felt obliged to deny in spite of the explicit testimony of Pausanias,[2] because the man who made the dedicatory offering for Thrasyboulos and his followers in 403 B. C.,[3] could not possibly have worked on the temple of Olympia. It now, however, seems that there were, as people formerly used to assume, two men of the name of Alkamenes. The work of Alkamenes I, we may see in the Pergamon Hermes.[4] It may be he who once was a rival of Pheidias,[5] and who made, as Pausanias says, the West Pediment in Olympia; while the pupil of Pheidias,[6] who worked as late as 403 B. C., was Alkamenes II.

It is, of course, too early to make definite statements in this respect. The bearing, however, of the new discovery on the solution of these questions is of far-reaching interest.

PLATE 113. Spear Bearer (Doryphoros) after Polykleitos. National Museum, Naples. Discovered 1797 in the Palæstra in Pompeii. Picture of Palæstra, Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 166. There are practically no restorations. The statue was badly broken, but has been put together of the original fragments. It has, however, been "gone over" by the man who joined the fragments. Identified as a copy after Polykleitos in 1863 by Karl Friederichs in a monograph entitled, *Der Doryphoros des Polyklet.* E. von Mach, pp. 249ff.; F. W., 505; Robinson, 100; Reinach I, 523, cf. II, 545, 10, the replica in the Vatican.

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[1] Löschke argues convincingly that the Hermes of Alkamenes was erected soon after 450 B. C. [2] Pausanias V, 10, 8. [3] Pausanias IX, 11, 6. [4] Poor late copies of the same Hermes were found in the Stadion in Athens. [5] Pliny, *N. H.*, 34, 49. [6] Pliny, *N. H.*, 36, 16.

The work of Polykleitos is fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 248ff. The important points for the study of the Doryphoros are:

1. The exaggeration of the muscles, due to the translation of the original bronze into marble.

2. The pose, striding, the head following the direction of the weight of the body.

3. Symmetry of design. The left side will show the same curve in the next step as is now seen on the right side.

4. Exclusive attention paid to the body, no thought being given to the feelings of the person portrayed.

Another interesting fact may be mentioned. The statue stood not on a pedestal, but on the ground, "a man among men."

As to the date of Polykleitos, the evidence adduced (E. von Mach, p. 336) from the Oxyrrhynchos papyros that Polykleitos was active as early as the fifth decade of the fifth century before Christ has lost in strength by a recent discovery. The papyros gives the names and the dates of Olympic victors and of their victories, including one victor of the fifth decade, to whom Polykleitos is known to have erected a statue. These dates have generally been accepted as evidence also for the dates of the erection of the statues celebrating the athletic events; the discovery, however, of the Hagias[1] statue in Delphi shows that at least in this one instance the monument was made more than fifty years after the victory had been won.

PLATE 114. Diadoumenos (Vaison) after Polykleitos.[2] Of marble. British Museum. Found in Vaison in the south of France in

[1] Plate 234. [2] For a collection of Diadoumenos replicas see E. Petersen, *Bull. della Comm. Arch. Comunale*, 1890, pp. 185ff.; for an excellent statuette in the British Museum, A. S. Murray, *J. H. S.*, 1885, Pl. 61; for a list of heads, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 240ff.

1862, acquired by the British Museum in 1869. Restorations: the nose, parts of the right hand, most of the left hip, and other minor parts. E. von Mach, pp. 253ff.; F. W., 508; Robinson, 102; Reinach II, 547, 5.

PLATE 115. Diadoumenos (Delos) after Polykleitos. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Found on the island of Delos in 1894 in the ruins of a house of the second century, B. C. Louis Couve, *B. C. H.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 460ff.; E. von Mach, pp. 254ff.; Robinson (Supplement), No. 103a; Reinach II, 547, 9.

The Vaison statue has been erected with a slant to its ancient plinth, which seemed to add to the pleasing appearance of the statue. It makes the pose, however, more distinctly a striding one, and since a stride is out of place with the motive — a youth tying a fillet round his head — doubts have been expressed as to the wisdom of tilting the plinth. The newly discovered Delos figure has been inserted in a base on a level with its plinth, but the same disturbing stride appears also in the new statue.

The important points for the study of these statues, which are discussed E. von Mach, pp. 253ff., are:

1. The pose resembles that of the Doryphoros, but is ill-adapted to the changed motive.

2. The over-prominence of the muscles in the Vaison copy, which is a literal translation of bronze into marble, and the rather soft and almost voluptuous forms of the Delos figure. The sculptor of this statue obviously made allowances for the change of material, but introduced an element of fleshy forms out of keeping with the art of Polykleitos.

3. The contrast between the *molliter juvenem*, as Pliny[1] calls the Diadoumenos, and the *viriliter puerum*, as he called the Doryphoros.

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[1] *N. H.*, 34, 35.

PLATE 116a. Diadoumenos. Of marble. Prado Museum, Madrid. Restorations: the legs and the right arm. Michaelis, *Annali*, 1878, p. 110; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 240ff.; Reinach I, 475, 6.

PLATE 116b. Diadoumenos. Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlberg (Copenhagen).

PLATE 117. Diadoumenos (Farnese). Of marble. British Museum. Small statue, known as early as the sixteenth century. Date and place of discovery unknown, formerly in Palazzo Farnese; since 1864 in the British Museum. The nose is restored. F. W., 509; Robinson, 103; Reinach I, 524, 2; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 16ff.

Of these three statues only the Madrid Diadoumenos reproduces the work of Polykleitos. It is, perhaps, the best copy, barring its wrongly restored right arm. The Copenhagen statue seems to reproduce an earlier type, while the Diadoumenos Farnese has never yet been assigned to a place that seemed universally acceptable. For years scholars have noticed that this little figure had no connection[1] with Polykleitos. Everything, except the motive of tying a fillet is different, most especially the pose. The freedom of the left leg, which might almost move in a circle around the right leg without disturbing the rhythm of the figure, shows such mastery of bodily forms moving in space that it almost approaches the work of Lysippos.[2] It is entirely unlike the work of Polykleitos.

The statue is very beautiful, it shows the hand of a great master, and the outlines of its head resemble some identified works. On these grounds the statue has been assigned to

[1] Robinson alone, as late as 1896, wrote "the motives of the two (meaning the Vaison and the Farnese statues) are so similar as to leave little doubt of a common origin."

[2] See Plate 235, the Apoxyomenos after Lysippos, and note the still greater freedom of the Apoxyomenos.

Pheidias.[1] A statue by him of a youth tying his fillet, and called "Anadoumenos," is mentioned in literature,[2] which renders the attribution even more probable.[3]

PLATE 118. Amazon. Of marble. Museum, Berlin. Discovered in Rome in 1868, acquired for Berlin in 1869. Restorations: the entire right arm, the left lower arm and the pillar and the base,[4] both hands and both feet, excepting the left ankle. E. von Mach, pp. 255ff.; Overbeck I, pp. 514ff.; *Berlin Catalogue* 7; F. W., 513; Robinson, 98; Reinach II, 324, 2. For a replica in the Vatican, see Helbig, 32; Gardner, fig. 76.

PLATE 119. Amazon.[5] Of marble. Lansdowne House, London. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, Lansdowne, 83; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, Plate VIII; Reinach I, 503, 3.

PLATE 120. Amazon. Of marble. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Date and place of discovery not published, presented to the Capitoline Museum by Benedict XIV (1740–1758). Restorations: practically the entire right arm, the left fore arm, the parts of the drapery drawn away from the wounds, several toes, end of the nose and part of the lower lip. Helbig, 503, who on p. 368, gives a drawing of the correct restoration of the right arm as holding a spear on which the figure leans, as is seen on a gem, *ib.* p. 367, fig. 23. E. von Mach, pp. 255ff.; Reinach I, 486, 3.

PLATE 121. Amazon (Mattei type). Of marble. Vatican Museum, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown; formerly in Villa Mattei, acquired for the Vatican under Clement XIV (1769–1774).

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[1] The identification is accepted by Arndt, index to Brunn-Bruckmann collection of plates, and by Zimmermann in Knackfuss-Zimmermann, Vol. I, p. 152, fig. 106. [2] Pausanias VI, 4, 5; Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 757. [3] Cf. the figures on the West Frieze of the Parthenon (Plate V, No. 9 Michaelis), a standing youth, which in many respects resembles the Diadoumenos Farnese. [4] The accuracy of this restoration is proved by the Lansdowne copy, Pl. 119, in which the pillar is antique, and by the Sciarra copy, in which the right arm is antique. [5] A good profile view of the figure in Springer-Michaelis I, p. 211, fig. 376.

Restorations: the head, which is antique but does not belong to this type, but to the Capitoline Amazon, Plate 120; the neck; both arms; the top half of the quiver; the right leg from the knee to the ankle; the upper half of the tree-trunk; also the crest of the helmet on the base. Helbig, 195; E. von Mach, 255ff.; Reinach I, 483, 1. The restorations of the replica of this statue in the Capitoline Museum are, according to Helbig, 530, the neck, the right arm, the left upper arm, the index finger, middle finger and end of thumb of the left hand, the bow, the right foot, the left leg from the middle of the thigh to below the knee, the toes of the left foot, the upper part of the stump with the points of the pelta, the plinth and the helmet. The head is ancient, but does not belong to this statue. Robinson, 97; Reinach II, 324, 1.

The important references to these statues of Amazons are: A. Michaelis, *Jahrbuch* I, 1886, pp. 14ff.; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 128ff.; Overbeck I, pp. 514ff., and Notes p. 527, containing classified bibliography; also B. Graef, *Jahrbuch* XII, 1895, pp. 81ff., renouncing his former, vigorously pressed theory of identity of origin of the Berlin Amazon and the Doryphoros, and establishing a new identity between the Capitoline type and the Diadoumenos.

The attribution of these several Amazon statues to their respective artists has been often attempted and as often been challenged. Michaelis,[1] and formerly Overbeck, assigned all of them to Polykleitos, and this view has been followed by the writer.[2] It has been discarded by Furtwängler and by Overbeck in the fourth edition of his *Griechische Plastik*. These men believe literally in the tradition[3] that four Amazon statues were made for Ephesos by Pheidias, Polykleitos,

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[1] *Jahrbuch* I, 1886, pp. 14ff. [2] E. von Mach, pp. 255ff.

[3] Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 946; Pliny, *N. H.*, 34, 53. It is interesting to note that of the four Amazon statues here mentioned by Pliny only the Amazon of Pheidias is referred to by another author, Lucian, *Imag.* 4, while the only other statue mentioned twice is the Amazon by Kresilas, the name of which Pliny repeats, *N. H.*, 34, 75.

Kresilas and Phradmon. In the several preserved types they see copies of more than one statue, and endeavor to assign them, by means of comparison with other works, to this or to that artist.

Their attributions are not universally accepted. They are fully discussed in the literature quoted above, and since they neither are convincing to the writer, nor have proved lastingly satisfactory to the men who have uttered them (for these men constantly change their minds), they may be passed by here with this mere reference. Only Overbeck (I, p. 515) makes a remark which is of far-reaching importance, if true. He says that the support of the Berlin Amazon on a pillar introduces a Praxitelean motive, which he firmly believes was impossible in the fifth century. The Praxitelean motive, to which Overbeck refers, is best seen in the "Marble Faun" Plate 195, and in the "Apollo Sauroktonos," Plate 185. It consists in resting almost half of the weight of the body on an external support, which support is so integral a part of the design that without it the composition cannot exist.[1] It enables the artist to introduce a rythm of ease and of comfort, unobtainable as long as the figure supports the weight of its body on its own two legs.

Glancing from the Praxitelean figures to the Berlin Amazon, one sees that the external support is there, but that the rhythm, the curve, which makes of it the "Praxitelean motive" is absent. On the other hand, one perceives, while studying these several statues together, how naturally the Praxitelean figures were evolved from statues like the Doryphoros, Pl. 113, and the Berlin Amazon. The latter retains the stride of the Doryphoros, but combines with it an external support. Praxiteles sees the latent possibility of such a support and

[1] See E. von Mach, pp. 270ff.

creates from it his characteristic motive. But his genius compels it to yield to him unthought-of beauties.

For a further discussion of the Amazon statues see E. von Mach, pp. 255ff.[1]

PLATE 122a. Statuette of an Athlete (Mercure Aptere). Of bronze. Louvre, Paris. Longpérier, *Notice des Bronzes Antiques*, 214; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 279ff.; Reinach II, 588, 3.

PLATE 122b. Small Statue of an Athlete, so-called "Westmacott Athlete" after Polykleitos. Of marble. British Museum, London. Formerly in the possession of the sculptor, Sir Richard Westmacott. The left hand was broken, but is antique. Petersen, *Röm. Mitth.* 1893, pp. 101ff.; and Collignon I, p. 500, who believe the statue to be the Kyniskos after Polykleitos; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 250, note 2, expresses well founded doubts; Robinson (supplement), 112; Reinach II, 546, 9.

PLATE 122c. Statuette of a Young Satyr. Of bronze. Bibliothèque National, Paris. Babelon et Blanchet, *Catalogue des Bronzes Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 428; Collignon I, fig. 251; Reinach II, 66, 2.

PLATE 123. Small Statue of a Boy, "L'Idolino." Front and back view. Of bronze. Museo Archeologico, Florence. Found in Pesaro, near Ancona in 1530, presented to the duke, in whose villa near Pesaro the statue remained until 1633, when it was removed to Florence and was at first deposited in the Gallery of the Uffizi. The right arm was broken. The eyes and the original covering of the lips (gold or silver) are missing. The name "L'Idolo" (the idol) occurs first in 1779. "L'Idolino" means the "little idol." Amelung, 268, with full bibliography; Robinson (supplement), 113; Reinach II, 588, 2.

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[1] The remarks, E. von Mach, p. 258, have reference to the present restoration of the Capitoline Amazon. They are, of course, out of place when the right arm of the statue, according to the gem, is restored to lean on a spear.

PLATE 124. Small torso of Boy, called "Hermes." Of marble. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Place and date of discovery and former museum not published. Acquired for Boston in 1896. Twenty-first Annual Report of the Trustees of the Museum, pp. 19–21.[1] Reinach II, 488, 3.

These five statues have been assigned to the school of Polykleitos with absolute certainty in the majority of cases. The identification of some of them with definite statues known by name from ancient literature has proved less successful.

PLATE 125. Ares Borghese. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Place and date of discovery unknown. Formerly in possession of the Borghese family, removed to Paris in 1808. Restorations: the left arm, part of the right hand and several toes. F. W., 1298; Robinson, 104; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 89; Reinach I, 133, 1–3.

Winckelmann's designation of this statue, several replicas of which are known, as Ares is almost universally accepted to-day. The dedicatory inscription "Marti" on one of the replicas, and the ring[2] around the ankle of the Louvre statue are strong arguments.

The resemblance of this Ares type to the figures by Polykleitos, Plates 113ff., has long been noticed. The heads of Ares and of the Doryphoros are rather striking in mutual resemblance. Not only in general appearance are they alike,

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[1] In this report Mr. Robinson announces his intention to publish "a more detailed description and discussion" of the statue, so that courtesy forbids anticipating him.

[2] This ring is explained as showing Ares fettered by Hephaistos. There was a hole on the leg above the ring filled with lead, where the chain may have been attached. Wolters (F. W., 1298) gives good reasons why the ring has nothing to do with the armor.

but also in such details as the locks of hair near the ears marking the delicate beginnings of side whiskers. In spite of this, Furtwängler has endeavored to identify the Louvre statue with Alkamenes.

The statue is especially interesting as marking a further step toward freedom of pose. The evolution of the male figure in Greek sculpture seems to follow the order in which a man standing stiff and erect first, with legs close together and arms hanging at his sides, would move one limb after the other in the endeavor to assume a freer, a more comfortable and a more beautiful pose; until at last all possible poses having been taken, the man feels no longer bound to assume any one, but falls at will and with ease into that one which is the most natural expression of his character or of his momentary state of mind. This perfect freedom was reached by the end of the fourth century. Until then the poses are limited in number and not always truly expressive. This makes it difficult, when attributes fail, to identify the statues; for correspondences between the characters of persons protrayed and their poses are at first largely accidental. Nor could this be otherwise in an age when the essence of character, the soul, was, not consciously and seriously considered.

PLATE 126a. Athlete Dropping Oil in his Hand. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Date and place of discovery unknown. Bought for Munich, in Rome, in 1811. Restorations: The right arm and shoulder, the left forearm and the left hand. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 302, F. W., 462; Robinson, 527; Reinach I, 522, 2. For the head of the statue see Kekulé, *Ueber den Kopf des Praxitelischen Hermes*, p. 8. For a list of replicas see Dütschke IV, p. 53, 82, and Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*.

Greek athletes anointed themselves with oil before exercis-

ing.[1] The oil was kept in little cruets,[2] and, as this statue and several fifth-century vase paintings show, was poured in drops on the hand with which it was afterwards rubbed into the body. Naturally graceful an Athenian youth would be sure to offer a pleasing picture to the spectator as he raised one hand with the cruet high above his head and watched intently the other hand catching the drops of the descending oil. The action was so simple and the attention which it demanded, nevertheless, so close, that it offered a charming motive for sculpture. Its simplicity, no doubt, endeared it to the artist. As the style of the figure shows, the original was made in the fifth century. A later sculptor would probably have introduced more variety into the composition. The pose would have been farther removed from that of the erect standing figure,[3] and would have been expressive of the individual rather than of the type. If one would thoroughly understand the distinctly fifth century character of the Munich athlete, one has only to compare him with the Apoxyomenos after Lysippos, Plate 235.

So certain is the fifth century origin of the statue, that even the resemblance[4] of its head to the type of heads found on statues by Praxiteles cannot alter one's conviction. This resemblance, far from pointing[5] to a Praxitelean origin of the statue, simply shows how firmly the art of Praxiteles was rooted in that of his predecessors.

PLATE 126b. Standing Discus Thrower. Of marble. Vatican. Found in 1792 in the ruins of an ancient villa on the Via Appia and

[1] For a statue showing the removing of the oil see Plate 235. [2] For such a cruet tied to the wrist see Plate 349b. [3] See, for instance, the Apollo of Tenea, Plate 14. [4] Pointed out by Kekulé, p. 8. [5] Robinson, p. 239, lays so much stress on this resemblance that he says it "makes the date of its original a matter of doubt."

bought for the Vatican by Pius VI (1775–1799). Restorations: the fingers of the right hand, the nose, fragments of the lips, and other minor parts. G. Habich, *Jahrbuch* XIII, 1898, pp. 57ff.; A. Michaelis, *ib.*, pp. 174ff.; (Reviews), *A. J. A.*, 1900, pp. 346; E. von Mach, *A. J. A.*, 1903, pp. 45ff.,[1] with the picture of a vase painting resembling the Vatican statue. These articles have reference to the identification of the statute as Hermes or as a Discus Thrower, also to the mode of throwing the discus in antiquity. For other literature see Helbig, 331; F. W., 465; Robinson, 107; Reinach I, 526, 8.

This statue, like the Ares, marks a further deviation from the stereotyped erect posture of earlier statues. The Discus Thrower no longer stands as anyone, engaged as he is, must stand, but as he himself prefers to stand. The erect pose, in its oneness, may be said to be the typical pose; the stooping posture, of which infinite varieties are possible, is characteristic of the individual, provided it is consistently carried out. This is not the case here. The stoop of this athlete, therefore, is not a success. It arouses our interest not in the person portrayed, but in the artist who dared to strike out along a new path.

The rhymth of the statue is pleasing only from one point of view — from everywhere else it is almost painful, owing to its lack of unity, of balance, and of harmony. The head is unusually small, almost an anticipation of the small heads that a century later Lysippos carved. It is noticeably delicate, and very pleasant to look at. The great care which the artist bestowed on it makes one feel that he really endeavored, ahead of his times, to bring out the character of the individual.

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[1] This article was written immediately upon the publication of Habich's article in 1898, but was not published until five years later, owing to an accumulation of past material in the office of the Editor.

32. GIRLS DECORATING A HERM.

33. ROMAN IMITATION OF A GROUP ON THE ATHENA-NIKE FRIEZE.

PLATE 127. "Apollo" of Eleusis ("Sabouroff Apollo"). Of bronze. Museum, Berlin. Discovered probably in the sea, near Eleusis, date unknown, and bought soon after by Count Sabouroff, with whose entire collection it was bought for the Berlin Museum in 1884. There are no modern restorations, but a large number of ancient "patches." *Berlin Catalogue*, No. 1; Robinson, No. 533; Reinach II, 593, 1.

The date of this figure, which is conceded to be an original, is placed by the official catalogue at about 400 B. C. By its grace and freedom of pose it partakes of the special charm of the fourth century works, while by its unsupported and fortuitous attitude, just awakening, as it were, to an unfettered command of body and limbs, it stands firmly rooted in the art of the fifth century. The wiriness of the boyish athlete, amounting almost to meagreness of flesh in the "Idolino," Plate 123, has given way to rounded contours. These, however, are by no means effeminate, as is often the case with later works. The right leg is more firmly planted on the ground than the left, but it is not so straight-forwardly a supporting member as the right leg in the Farnese Diadoumenos, Plate 117. This gives the figure an easier rhythm. The body seems to sway to an unheard tune, and there appears an unemphasized curve,[1] beautifully repeated, as in an echo, by the extended right arm and balanced by the graceful left arm. This member, which forms an angle with the inclined body, is almost parallel to the supporting right leg, so that the straighter lines on either side are brought into prominence and in this way are made to increase the stability of the related position.[2]

The head, it seems, was turned to the right, that is, following the direction of the weight of the body.

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[1] This curve is very different from the curves of Praxitelean works.

[2] The substance of the last three sentences is taken from a description of the statue by my former pupil, Miss Elsie Langdon Stern.

Compared with the standing Discus Thrower, Plate 126, the Berlin bronze shows a less wilful deviation from the ordinary, and a far greater power of perfecting the well-known. The advance of the best Greek art is invariably along these lines and is, in this respect also, the very opposite of the customs of modern art.

PLATE 128. Asklepios or Zeus. Of marble. Albertinum, Dresden. Found, date unknown, in Antium; formerly in the Albani collection; bought in 1728 by August the Strong (1694–1733) for his collection of antiquities. Restorations: the left arm but not the hand, the right forearm and attributes, both feet, the nose, the upper lip, the plinth and the tree-trunk. Hettner, No. 59; Robinson[1]; Reinach I, 289, 2.

Nude, for the Greeks considered nude everyone who appeared without his chiton (undergarment), this figure is supplied with a himation only for reasons of design. The arrangement of the himation reminds one of that of the "Barberini Hera," Plate 105, where the corner that here rests on the shoulder has begun to slip down over the arm. The motive of the end of the garment hanging over the shoulder occurred also in the Zeus of Pheidias.

The pose of the figure is perfectly free, as appears from a comparison of it with the "Zeus" in Munich, Plate 71. The head here no longer follows the direction of the weight of the body, which rests on the left leg. But this is perfectly natural, because the free leg is no longer kept behind the left

[1] Robinson repeats most of the arguments both in favor and against the interpretation of this figure as Zeus or as Asklepios. His last argument, however, against this statue representing Zeus, namely, that the statue was mild in appearance, is not well taken, in view of the fact that the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias is praised for his mildness (Dion. Chrys. XII, 14).

leg, but is placed ahead of it. The pose of the god, therefore, is not the immediate result of having walked to where he now stands and of having stopped short (cf. Plate 71), but of having moved his free leg after he had reached his destination. The head quite naturally follows the direction of this additional movement, but since the weight of the body, still supported by the left leg, has not followed the leg, the movement seems incomplete and adds an element of expectancy. This new idea the spectator is apt to translate into a readiness on the part of the god to listen, perhaps to the supplications of his people, so that the relationship between the deity and the spectator becomes distinctly personal.

The statue unfortunately is a copy of inferior workmanship, but even the lack of refinement in execution has been unable to deprive it of its inherent graceful dignity.

PLATE 129. The Dioskoroi, Kastor, and Polydeukes. Of marble. Monte Cavallo, opposite the Quirinal, Rome. There is no indication that these statues have ever been invisible since they were first erected in Rome. Their first mention in modern literature dates from the tenth century of our era. Two brief inscriptions, reading, *Opus Fidiæ*, and *Opus Praxitelis*, seem to date from late imperial times. One long inscription [1] was placed on the monument when another older one was removed in 1589 by Pope Urban VIII. The older one said the figures were Alexander and his horse Boukephalos. The new one left the subjects unnamed, stating simply that the colossal statues, with their old inscriptions added, had been removed from the neighboring Baths of Constantine to the Quirinal. In the replacing of the statues, the old inscriptions were exchanged. The *Opus Fidiæ* belongs to the figure with the left arm raised, although it now is added to the other man. F. W., 1270, 1271; Matz-Duhn, 959, with full bibliography; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 95ff., and excellent summary of his view in *Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Skulptur für den Schulgebrauch; Handausgabe*, pp. 25ff.; E. Petersen, *A. J. A.* (Review), 1901, Vol. V, p. 477; Reinach I, 485, 4 and 5.

[1] Quoted in full, F. W., 1270, 1271.

Neglected until recently, these statues have suddenly jumped into prominence by Furtwängler's defense of the authenticity of the inscriptions. He does not overlook the obviously poor workmanship, but he accounts for it by assuming that it is contemporaneous with the inscrptions, probably of the time of Constantine.[1] The greatest objection to this view is found in the fact that the two statues are apparently of equal age, and that Praxiteles lived one hundred years later than Pheidias. To obviate this, Furtwängler believes in an older Praxiteles, of whom we know nothing, or at least very little. In view of the recent discovery of the Hermes of Alkamenes, Plate 112, and of the ensuing probability that there once lived also an older Alkamenes, whose existence scholars for years thought they could disprove by the same literary evidence that seems to speak against an older Praxiteles, Furtwängler's view is by no means untenable, provided the style of the figures bears him out in assigning their originals to the fifth century. The question, therefore, is, "Could a fifth century Greek sculptor have designed these figures?" The answer is an emphatic "yes." We have not watched in vain the development of poses in this period, and are, therefore, prepared to affirm that men who in fifty years could make advances from the style of the Boy found on the Akropolis, Plate 57, to the "Idolino," Plate 123, or even to the Standing Discus Thrower, Plate 126, or finally to the "Zeus" in Dresden, Plate 128, could so far enliven and adapt the Aristogeiton, Plate 59, as to create these Dioskoroi.[2] Further the writer dares not go

[1] For sculptures of this time, see Plates 346ff.

[2] A figure very similar in pose to the Dioskoroi occurs on the East Frieze of the Theseion, Plates 131ff., immediately behind the seated gods on the southern end of the frieze. Figures in relief, however, were carved with freedom long before corresponding figures in the round.

with Furtwängler, who sees correspondences between these figures and some boys in the Parthenon sculpture.

Those who believe the heads are too small in proportion to the size of the figures to make them possible before the time of Lysippos (end of fourth century B. C.) need only be reminded of the very small head of the Standing Discus Thrower, Plate 126b, to see that their objection is not well taken.

The finish of these figures, complete only on one side, on men and horses alike, has led to the correct observation[1] that these groups once decorated an entrance way, "so," says Fogelberg, "that the corners of the entrance way fitted in the angle between man and horse. In front of the building, therefore, one saw the front view of the horses and the men beside them in high relief against the wall. Entering, one passed the long profile views of the horses." This puts the *Opus Fidiæ* on the left side as one approaches. Both men are walking away from the doorway.

A slight change in the disposition of Fogelberg may, however, be suggested. Suppose the doorway projected and the horses were placed with their sides against the outside walls, that is, the *Opus Fidiæ* on the right. Then both men are going toward the entrance, which seems more hospitable, if one may say so, and ensures an open outdoor light for both men and horses. The horses are intended, as their size indicates, for a distant view. This they receive only if the transposition from Fogelberg's arrangement is accepted. The inside of the doorway may have been decorated with reliefs in a style better adapted to the near view in an interior.

The disposition of the Dioskoroi in this fashion at once

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[1] Fogelberg, quoted F. W., 1270, 1271, p. 455.

calls to mind the Assyrian man-headed bulls guarding the entrances of important buildings. The doorways of these buildings projected. On the narrow ends of the entrance walls the front views of these bulls were carved with the heads of men, and on the sides, both inside and outside, the bodies of the beasts were represented in relief. Herodotos knew this Oriental custom, and it may have been on his suggestion that his contemporary, Pheidias, designed this composition.

This supposition takes it for granted that the inscriptions correctly designate the artists of these groups. As long as the fifth century style of the Dioskoroi was not recognized, one did well to discredit the inscriptions. Now one must advance weightier arguments if one would rightfully disregard them.

For a full appreciation of the Dioskoroi one needs the gift of imagination, enabling one to look beyond the poverty of execution to the nobility of the design. Furtwängler has this gift when he exclaims, "The inspired rythm that sways these bodies reaches its height in the magnificent heads. The hair of the youths flutters with the wind and surrounds their heads as with a crown of divine glory. Their godlike eyes snap fire. These are indeed the heavenly sons of Zeus, the Dioskoroi, who, in the splendor of glittering rays, lustily engage in the tussle with their snowy white horses."

PLATE 130. The "Theseion." The best preserved temple in Athens. The most complete work on this temple is the recent book by Professor Bruno Sauer. See also Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 410ff.; for the lighting of the temple, W. W. Bates, *A. J. A.*, 1901, pp. 37ff.; for the date, earlier than the Parthenon, Julius, *Annali*, 1878, pp. 205ff.; later than the Parthenon, Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1884, pp. 336ff.; Furtwängler's answer, *Masterpieces*, p. 46, note 1; for the name and date, Furtwängler, *Sitz. Münch. Akad.*, 1899, pp. 279ff.; *A. J. A.* (Review), V, 1901, p. 232. Furtwängler says it is the temple of Apollo Patroos. See also bibliography, Overbeck I, p. 469.

PLATES 131–133. Slabs of the Frieze of the "Theseion." Of marble. *In situ* on the temple in Athens. For a sketch of both friezes, Overbeck I, p. 462. F. W., 527, 528; Robinson, 108; Furtwängler recognizes in several figures now in Copenhagen, figures from the now empty pediments; *Sitz. Münch. Akad.*, 1899, pp. 279ff. One of them is our Plate 109, carved, as he says, by Kresilas. For a specimen of the metopes see Plate 92b.

There is no consensus of opinion either as to the name or as to the date of the temple. The style of the frieze would seem to indicate an earlier date than that of the Parthenon, perhaps in the era of Kimon, who was supreme before Perikles. The evidence from the architecture seems to be confusing.

Equal uncertainty prevails in regard to the proper name of the temple, which has been variously given as temple of Ares,[1] of Apollo Patroos, of Hephaistos, of Aphrodite Urania and of Herakles in Milete. In popular speech the temple continues to be called the "Theseion," temple of Theseus.

The temple which "has[2] no simple and easily appreciable relation between its various proportions cannot give one, in spite of its excellent state of preservation,[3] an idea of the best Greek work in the fifth century." An investigation of the pedimental floors has revealed the fact that the now empty pediments once contained figures. The carved metopes, of which Plate 109 is a sample, ran along the front and included the nearest four, both on the south and on the north sides. The friezes in the colonnade[4] are the best preserved.

The East Frieze ran along the entire width of the colonnade;

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[1] Overbeck I, p. 457 and p. 469, note 1. [2] Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 411. [3] It was early turned into a church of St. George. [4] For an unusually interesting picture of the position of the frieze, see Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 413.

the West Frieze only along the west wall of the cella proper. It was, therefore, shorter than the East Frieze by double the width of the colonnade. There were no carved friezes on the north and south sides.

The design of the East Frieze makes allowances for the architectural lines. At either end of the cella wall antæ, or flattened columns, ran up toward the frieze. Immediately over these antæ, groups of seated deities were represented, thus continuing the stability of the architectural lines. Between these groups the battle is raging, while more quiet scenes are carved to the right and to the left of them, that is to say, immediately over the colonnade. The gods are seated on uneven ground, and in attitudes that seem to deny the existence of the wall against which they are carved. They do not follow the strict principles of relief sculpture [1] adhered to in the Parthenon, but must not for that reason be assigned to a later date.[2] These gods, however, and the group of standing men to the right, may have suggested the gods and the magistrates on the Parthenon frieze. The figure immediately behind the gods on the left bears a strong resemblance to the Dioskoroi, Plate 129.

The center group of fighting men is especially interesting on account of the pictorial disposition of the dead,[3] with complete disregard of the strict principles of relief sculpture. The same pictorial element shows in the West Frieze, especially in the fallen centaur, the foreshortening of whose mighty body has been too much for the sculptor.

There are many isolated groups on both friezes, due no

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[1] See E. von Mach, pp. 37–66. [2] *Ib.*, p. 323. See also reliefs from Delphi, Plate 43. [3] For the representation of the dead in relief sculpture, see E. von Mach, pp. 55 and 215. A similar design is found on the Athena-Nike temple frieze, Plate 169.

doubt to the fact that the continuous frieze was of Ionic origin and unfamiliar to the Athenians, whose earlier buildings were all of the pure Doric style, where the friezes were broken up into metopes and triglyphs, of which only the former were decorated with figures.[1] This made it necessary to tell the story by means of separate groups. The problems of the continuous frieze were different, but without realizing them, artists often tried to solve them by supplying connecting links between independent groups. The favorite single group of the "Theseion" sculptors is pyramidal in design, two figures fighting over a third who is overcome. That this motive has often been successfully used on these friezes is undoubtedly true, but wherever it is used it leaves the connection to the right and to the left weak. This is the reason why it does not occur on the Parthenon. An especially spirited group is the Lapith Kaineus on the West Frieze, whom two centaurs endeavor to put *hors de combat* by placing him in a hole in the ground and keeping him there by a superimposed rock. The use of such gigantic weapons adds immensely to the interest of both compositions, an interest that is kept alive by the exercise of almost superhuman strength on the part of some of the warriors. An excellent instance of this is seen on the West Frieze, where a helmeted youth hurls himself against a prancing centaur and, by the mere force of his impact, drives him to the wall.

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[1] For Doric and Ionic friezes see E. von Mach, p. 212.

The Parthenon.

PLATE 134. Restoration of the Akropolis in Athens, as it looked at the end of the Fifth Century, B. C.

PLATE 135. The Parthenon in Athens from North West.

The temple was begun shortly before 450 B. C. It was practically finished by 438 B. C. The architects were Iktinos and Kallikrates. In the Christian Era the Parthenon was changed into a church of Hagia Sophia (Sacred Wisdom). In the thirteenth century it was taken over by the Roman branch of the Catholic Church, and its name changed to that of St. Mary. Barring some alterations which had been necessary to adapt the temple to the new cult, the Parthenon stood unharmed until September 26, 1687, when a bomb from the artillery of the Christian army besieging the Turks in Athens was wilfully directed toward it, and exploded in its interior.

There is one standard book for the study of the Parthenon, its history, architecture, and decorations, A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, text and plates, published in 1871. All other books are based on Michaelis; none have even attempted to supersede him. The most recent and most fully illustrated book is A. S. Murray, *The Parthenon*; the fullest account of the dimensions, Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*; the fullest discussion of the art principles which the sculptured decoration of the Parthenon follow, E. von Mach, pp. 37–66 and 211–247.

Special References.

GENERAL. The Connection of Pheidias with the Parthenon, denied by H. N. Fowler, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1901, pp. 211–220; but see E. von Mach, pp. 211, 212. The drawings said to be made by Jacques Carrey of the Parthenon in 1673 are now in the Louvre. The authorship of Carrey denied by E. Babelon, *C. R. Acad. Inst.*, 1900, pp. 263–264. The history of the Parthenon marbles, related by Ph. E. Legrand, *Rev. Arch.*, 1894, Vol. 25, pp. 28–33.

THE BUILDING. The mixture of Doric and Ionian elements in the architecture of the temple. For a similar mixture of the two elements see the Doric temple of Athena in Delphi with Ionic half columns, discussed by Th. Homolle, *C. R. Acad. Inst.*, 1901, pp. 638–641. The curvature of the horizontal lines of the Parthenon recently copied on the steps of the Library of Columbia University, *A. J. A.*, 1900, Vol. IV, p. 376.

THE PEDIMENTS. Copies of lost figures of the West Pediment found in Dresden by Chas. Waldstein, *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1900, pp. 12ff. Copy of Athena of the West Pediment, on a vase painting, Ernest Gardner, *J. H. S.*, III, pp. 244ff.

The floor of the East Pediment examined by B. Sauer with a view to ascertaining the original position of the figures, *Athen. Mitth.*, 1891, XVI, pp. 59ff. Reconstruction of the center by J. Six, based on Sauer's work, *Jahrbuch*, 1894, IX, pp. 83ff. Furtwängler's Restoration, *Masterpieces*, pp. 463ff. See, however, E. von Mach, pp. 231ff., especially p. 233, last paragraph.

The birth of Athena, which was the subject of the East Pediment, is found on many monuments. One dates from

the end of the sixth century before Christ, others on vases. S. Reinach, *Rev. Études Grecques*, 1901, 127–137 (Review, *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, p. 462) ; also on an archaic relief in Constantinople where Zeus is seen in travail before the birth. S. Reinach, *C. R. Acad. Inst.*, 1900, p. 699. Correspondence of subject with Creation of Eve, Kekulé, *Jahrbuch*, 1890, Vol. V, pp. 186ff.

The horse of Selene compared with horse's head from Tarentum, now in British Museum, A. Michaelis, *J. H. S.*, III, pp. 234ff., Pl. 24, with a note by Percy Gardner, dating head the latter half of the fourth century.

THE FRIEZE. The movements of the horses; fully illustrated article, *La Representation du Galop dans l'Art Ancient et Moderne*, S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, 1900, pp. 216ff., 441ff., and 1901, pp. 224ff.

The attendants of the priest on the East Frieze. Their meaning explained by Jane Harrison, *Class. Review*, October, 1889, p. 378, with a note by Chas. Waldstein.

The god hugging his knees, on East Frieze, compared with vase paintings, where this attitude is expressive of impatience, as in the scenes of Odysseus and Achilles. *Rev. Arch.*, 1898, Vol. 33, figs. 5, 6, 7.

Peitho, so-called, on East Frieze. Her prototype perhaps found on a clay relief in the Akropolis Museum, Athens, *B. C. H.*, 1897, Pl. XII, fig. 1. The style of this relief corresponds with that of our Plate 94.

Heavily clad youths on North Frieze. Their prototypes perhaps found in the Achilles of the Odysseus and Achilles scenes referred to above. *Rev. Arch.*, 1898, Vol. 33, figs. 5, 6, 7, a–o.

Newly discovered fragments. Head of Iris, East Frieze; Chas. Waldstein, *A. J. A.*, first series, Vol. V, pp. 1ff., Pl. II. Head of boy and horse of North Frieze; A. S. Murray, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1902–1903, X, pp. 31ff. (Review, *A. J. A.*, VII, 1903, p. 390.)

THE METOPES. Metopes of the west side. Complete set of pictures, *A. J. A.*, 1899, Pls. V and VI, and figs. 1–14; text by W. S. Ebersole, pp. 409ff., introducing several important corrections of the statements by Michaelis in *Der Parthenon.*

The central metopes of the south side. Pernice, *Jahrbuch* X, 1895, pp. 93ff. The question why they were inserted in this side he leaves unanswered.

Newly discovered fragments. Head of South Metope, Pl. 16, by Charles Waldstein, *J. H. S.*, III, pp. 228ff., Pl. 23. Head of South Metope V, the only head of advanced style. G. Treu, *Jahrbuch* XII, 1897, pp. 101f.

Additional Literature on the Parthenon.

Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, with pictures of the Parthenon in the eighteenth century.

Gregorovius, *Athen im Mittelalter.*

A. Laborde, *Le Parthenon*, reproducing all of Carrey's drawings.

Charles Waldstein, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias.*

E. Petersen, *Die Kunst des Pheidias.*

L. Fenger, *Dorische Polychromie*, with colored plates showing the application of color.

A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen.*

M. Beulé, *L'Akropole d' Athènes.*

H. Luckenbach, *Die Akropolis von Athen.*

Full bibliography of the Parthenon, *British Museum Catalogue* after History of the Parthenon.

PLATE 136. The "Fates." From the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum, London.

PLATE 137. "Theseus." From the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum.

PLATE 138. "Iris." From the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum.

PLATE 139. "Nike." Probably from the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum.

PLATE 140a. Helios and Two of His Horses. From the East Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum.

PLATE 140b. Selene and One of Her Horses. From the East Pediment of the Parthenon. The torso in the Akropolis Museum, Athens. The horse's head in the British Museum.

PLATE 141. "Kephissos" or "Ilissos." From the West Pediment of the Parthenon.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION 24. "Hermes." From the West Pediment of the Parthenon. British Museum.

These eight figures comprise practically[1] all of the pedimental figures that are sufficiently well preserved to afford pleasure. Their names are still under dispute, with the exception of Helios, the sun-god, and Selene, the goddess of the moon. But our enjoyment of these figures is fortunately not dependent on our knowledge of the exact personalities which the artists intended[2] to portray. These figures and the compositions of both pediments are fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 230–247, where hints for an appreciative study of the Parthenon pediments are given.

PLATES 142–156. A Complete Set of Pictures of the West Frieze of the Parthenon. Still in its original place on the Parthenon.

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[1] The others that might be classed with them are, of the East Pediment, a male torso (Michaelis H), and of the West Pediment, a group of a man and a girl *in situ* (Michaelis B), torso of a woman (Michaelis O), torso of Poseidon (Michaelis M), torso of Athena (Michaelis L).

[2] For long lists of interpretations offered up to 1871, see Michaelis, pp. 165, 180, and 181.

PLATE 157. Seated Gods. From the East Frieze of the Parthenon. British Museum.

PLATE 158. Maidens. From the East Frieze of the Parthenon. British Museum.

PLATE 159. Magistrates. From the East Frieze of the Parthenon. British Museum.

These are samples of the Parthenon frieze. The frieze itself is reproduced in its entire extent on the plates accompanying this handbook. Hints and directions for the study of the frieze are given in E. von Mach, pp. 218–230, and pp. 48–66, also 37–48.

PLATES 160-164. Metopes from the South Side of the Parthenon. British Museum, London, and Akropolis Museum, Athens. For fragments of West Parthenon Metopes see *Ephemeris*, 1894, pp. 187f., Plates 10 and 11.

These are eight of the seventeen or eighteen fairly well-preserved metopes of the Parthenon. Originally there were ninety-two. Those of the south side, representing, with the exception of the nine in the center, the fight against the centaurs, are the only metopes sufficiently well-preserved to make one sure of their subjects. Hints for the study of the Parthenon metopes are given in E. von Mach, pp. 213–218, 46–48, also 37–45.

PLATE 165. The Erechtheion. Viewed from the south-west, with its south porch, or Hall of the Maidens, in the foreground. For a ground plan of the Erechtheion see *British Museum Catalogue*, p. 232, also Baumeister, *s. v.* Erechtheion; for another view, Text Illustration 34.

The Erechtheion is later than the Parthenon. It was probably[1] begun after the Peace of Nikias in 421 B. C. By 409

[1] Gardner, Ancient Athens, p. 236.

B. C. it was almost finished and a commission[1] was appointed to attend to its completion. The date of the completion of the temple is not definitely known. In the fifth century of our era the Erechtheion, like the Parthenon, was turned into a Christian church, but greater changes were necessary here than in the larger temple to adapt it to its new use. This was due to the fact that the temple, which consisted of two independent halls, was built on two levels, with the east hall much higher than the other. The two compartments were thrown into one by the Christians. The building suffered much during the siege of Athens in 1687, and again during the struggle for freedom early in the nineteenth century.

The groundplan of the temple is unique, necessitated by the two levels on which the temple proper, of oblong shape, was built. The entrance to the eastern chamber was through an east portico of six columns (not shown on Plate 165). Broad and easily graded steps led down along the outside of the north wall[2] to the lower level, from which the western chamber was entered through a magnificent portico. This northern portico was deeper but less wide than the other. It had four columns in front and one between each corner column and the wall. The door leading from it into the temple is seen in Plate 165 to the left of the Porch of the Maidens.

The Porch of the Maidens, often called the Hall of the Karyatides, was not used by the public. It contained a very small entrance, like a private door, behind the Maiden in the back row on the spectator's right. The floor of this hall was

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[1] The report of this commission is preserved on stone, *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, I, 332; also the account of the expenses for the next year, *ib.*, I, 324.

[2] The long wall back of the Porch of the Maidens and to their right, seen on Plate 165, is the south wall.

34. THE ERECTHEION, ATHENS.

about on a level with the east chamber and, therefore, considerably higher than the floor of the chamber in front of which it stood. This is readily seen on the illustration by comparing the level of the porch with the north door, of which only the top shows.

To-day after several recent earthquakes the temple stands in need of repairs. The plan of restorations[1] includes the north portico and the west wall, to the left of the Maidens in the illustration. This wall once contained engaged columns. It is not known, however, whether they formed part of the original plan, or were added in a renovation that became necessary very soon after the temple was built. The architecture belongs to the finest that has been created. Every detail is as delicate as the general harmony of the dimensions of the entire building.

PLATE 166. One of the Maidens[2] of the Porch of the Maidens[3] of the Erechtheion. Of Pentelic Marble. British Museum, London. Removed to England by Lord Elgin with the permission of the Porte obtained in 1801, and bought by the British Museum in 1806. *British Museum Catalogue*, 407; F. W., 810; Robinson, 747; E. von Mach, p. 263, Pl. XVII, fig. 2.

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[1] Represented, *A. J. A.*, VI, 1902, p. 355.

[2] They are called Maidens (Korai) in the official inscriptions. By reason of their resemblance to the basket-bearing girls on the Parthenon frieze, some call them "Kanephorai," while still others follow Vitruvius (I Chapter 1), who calls them "Karyatides," girls from Karya, a town in Arkadia. These girls, as punishment for the treachery of their town, so Vitruvius says, were portrayed in architectural schemes as carrying burdens on their heads.

[3] It is the second figure from the left in the front row. A terra-cotta fac-simile has been placed in the temple. This is the figure which, on Plate 165, is seen in the deep shadow of the architrave.

So perfectly are these figures designed to fill their places that one pays no heed to the uncomfortable thought of maidens carrying heavy burdens. And yet one never forgets their architectural importance, as one doubtless would do if they were nothing but ornaments, or if their strength appeared to be so great that duty was turned into play. Their burden has been lightened, to be sure, by the architect, who made the entablature which they bear much smaller than is customary when columns carry the weight. He has omitted the frieze[1]; — a doubly successful scheme, for the frieze would have been decorated with figures; and the contrast between these and the maidens would have revealed the unreality of the entire composition.

No two of the maidens are exactly alike; for in order to have the entablature above correspond to the wall below, the corner figures must incline diagonally to their right and left respectively. If they stood straight, the top of the porch would be smaller than the bottom. The two middle figures are posed so as to make the strong contrasts between the corner figures disappear, which could be done the more easily as there was a change of legs in the center, the three girls on the left supporting the weight of their bodies on their right legs, the other three supporting it on their left legs. The figures in the back row had to act as intermediaries between the corner maidens leaning diagonally outward and the antæ (flattened columns) on the wall, following, roughly speaking, a straight vertical line.

The arms of all the maidens are broken. One arm probably hung down the side, while the other pulled a corner of the drapery forward.

A detailed comparison with other contemporaneous draped

[1] Compare Plate 168, the Athena-Nike Temple, where both frieze and architrave are seen above the columns.

GIANT FROM AGRIGENTUM.

36. HERAKLES, LOUVRE.

statues of women is not fair, because these maidens were intended for a distant view; yet so perfect is the workmanship of all the decorations of the Erechtheion that even near at hand they are admirable. The pose of the girls, moreover, firmly planted on one foot, was required by the architectural setting. But it is possible that similar poses of ordinary statues (see, for instance, the woman in Copenhagen, Plate 77, or the Apollo in Munich, Text Illustration 25) with the flute-like appearance of the folds of their drapery along one leg, suggested to the artist the use which he could make of them as parts of his architectural schemes.

PLATE 167. Maiden, "Karyatid." Roman work. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. Formerly in Palazzo Panganica, since 1828 in the Vatican. Restorations, made under the supervision of Thorwaldsen: the head, both fore arms, the part of the robe held in the left hand, the feet, and the plinth. Helbig, 1, Reinach I, 219, 4.

The beautiful refinement and delicacy of the Athenian Maiden is best appreciated when it is compared with this pattern-made Roman figure.[1] Text Illustration 35 represents one of the giants from Agrigentum used as architectural supports. Again the superiority of the Athenian artist appears. He knew that human figures as burden-bearers in buildings are satisfactory not when the tax on their strength is noticed, as is the case with this giant, but when they appear to be created for the very performance of their office, like the maidens of the Erechtheion.

[1] Other interesting comparisons are with the early "Karyatides" from the treasury of the Knidians in Delphi. They are described, *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, p. 461. In Korinth colossal figures were placed against pillars as decorations, but they were not themselves supporting anything. See *A. J. A.*, VI, 1902, p. 464, and Plate IV.

PLATE 168. Temple of Athena Nike, also called "Nike Apteros,"[1] from the east. Akropolis, Athens. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 422ff.; Wolters, *Bonner Studien*, 1890, pp. 92ff.; *British Museum Catalogue*, pp. 239ff., with a plan of the location of the temple. For the frieze see also F. W., 747–760; Robinson, 490; E. von Mach, pp. 55ff. For the balustrade, F. W., 761–804; Robinson, 491–497; *J. H. S.*, VI, pp. 244ff.; and especially Kekulé, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike.* The dimensions of the temple are not quite eighteen feet by a little over twenty-seven feet.

The temple was built in the last quarter of the fifth century. The exact date is not known. It remained practically uninjured until 1680, when the Turks took it down, and built its stones into a fortification wall. In 1835 this wall was removed and the temple re-erected on its own foundation with hardly a stone missing. Only the roof and the pediments are lost. The slabs of the west frieze, which were visible in 1801, when Lord Elgin formed his collection in Athens, are now in the British Museum.

The views from this temple toward the sea, with Aigina and Arkadia in the distance, and along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, belong to the finest views of the many of which Athens can boast.

The temple is built in the Ionian style, with slender, deep-fluted columns on bases, and the characteristic Ionian capitals.[2] There is no colonnade about this temple which has only two porticos, one in front and one in the rear.

[1] Temple of the Wingless Victory. This name was given the temple because Athena, the goddess of war, was worshipped as having brought victory. She was thus a Nike (Victory). The goddess Nike, however, was invariably represented with wings, Athena, on the other hand, without wings. To distinguish the two Nike deities, the Athena Nike was called the Wingless Nike.

[2] The characteristic difference between the corner capitals and the others shows well on the illustration. The corner capitals had their end volutes diagonally drawn out, with a volute carved in low relief on either side of this projection.

The East Frieze, Text Illustrations 37 and 38, seems to represent an assembly of the gods. The other three friezes are possibly commemorative of the Persian wars. On the south and north sides Greeks are fighting with Persians, on the west side Greeks with Greeks. This, as has been suggested, refers to the battle of Plataia, where the Athenians fought the Thebans who had taken sides with the Persians.

The temple was built on a narrow projecting ledge of the Akropolis, and was therefore surrounded by a balustrade, several slabs of which are preserved.

PLATE 169. Slabs from the West Frieze of the Athena-Nike Temple in Athens. Of Pentelic Marble. British Museum.

The deviation[1] from the strict principles of relief sculpture, followed by the Parthenon artists, is at once noticed. The pictorial element is prominent, and the existence of an absolutely rigid wall, against which the figures are carved, is denied. Even a tree is introduced, although in very delicate lines. In one place a man is seen back to, but apparently with sufficient space to continue his fight. This means the introduction of air as background. In many respects, therefore, this frieze is more like the frieze from Delphi, Plate 43, than like the Parthenon.

The lines of the Athena-Nike temple frieze are very pleasing, suggestive of a confused battle scene, without themselves being confused. The only blemish is found in some of the fluttering garments, which are too obviously given to the wind that they may fill empty spaces.

PLATES 170 and 171. Two Slabs from the Balustrade of the Athena-Nike Temple. Of Pentelic Marble. Akropolis Museum Athens.

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[1] E. von Mach, pp. 55ff.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION 29. One additional Nike of the Balustrade.

On the slab, Plate 170, the support of the right foot is broken away, so that Nike now seems to be holding her foot in the air. She thus seems to have assumed a very uncomfortable, almost untenable, position. This was not the case originally. She had stopped where the ground was uneven, and had placed her foot on a little elevation to readjust her sandal straps.

The transparency of her *chiton* and the fall of her *himation* in heavier folds are motives borrowed from the "Fates" of the Parthenon, Plate 136, whose dignity she lacks. Hers is a graceful body, ready to receive a casual glance as one passes along to the little temple, and pleasantly remembered. Studied in detail, she is not so impressive; for the unreality of her body showing clearly even through the double garment is too apparent. As a "decorative relief, however, rich in flowing lines and varied ways of drapery," she is unrivalled. The critic who emphasizes the defects of this figure rather than its beauty may be reminded of the words of the Greek poet:

> "Why should little things be blamed?
> Little things for love are made."

Great dash is shown in the Nike on the second slab, Plate 171. But here also the excited fluttering of the drapery, not entirely in keeping with the action of the figure, spoils the pleasure of continuous study. For a moment's view this Nike, like the other, is a source of pleasing thoughts.

If one would fully realize the gulf that separates her from the Parthenon, one ought to contrast[1] her with the "Nike"

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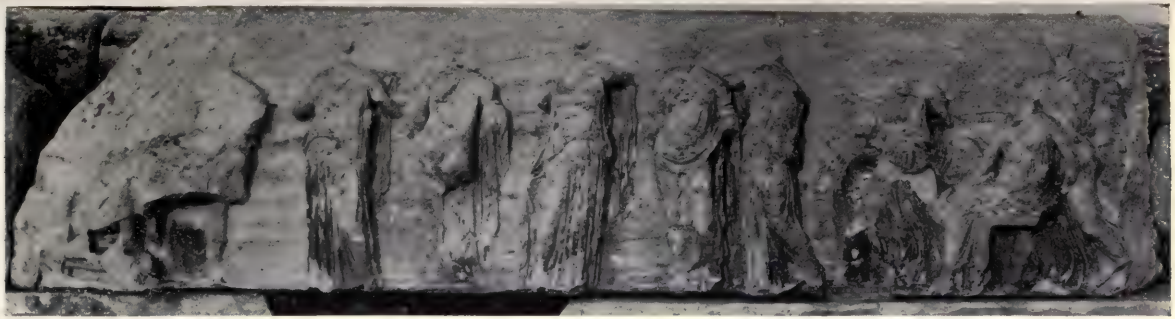
[1] Another extremely interesting comparison is with a relief in the Glyptothek in Munich (No. 264, F. W., 808), Text Illustration 32. The



37. SLAB FROM EAST FRIEZE, ATHENA-NIKE TEMPLE.

38. SLAB FROM NORTH FRIEZE, ATHENA-NIKE TEMPLE.

of the East Pediment, Plate 139. There the beauty of form is made subservient to the expression of a mighty thought, until the form is almost forgotten. Here the form is everything.

PLATES 172 and 173. Four Slabs from the Frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, near Phigaleia, in Arkadia. Of marble. British Museum, London. Discovered 1811–1812; purchased by the British Museum in 1814. F. W., 883ff.; Robinson, 424; and especially *British Museum Catalogue*, 520ff., together with the Introduction to these numbers and full bibliography. For the history of the building, its plan, the architectural fragments and the remains of the metopes, see *British Museum Catalogue* I, pp. 270ff.; plan, fig. 22.

The exact date of the temple is not known. Iktinos, one of the architects of the Parthenon, built it, probably between 430 and 420 B. C. In Phigaleia[1] the ground offered heavy obstacles to the adoption of the stereotype plan of a Greek temple; a deep ravine making it impossible to face the temple lengthwise east and west. The temple image, however, had to face east; perhaps there had even been an older sanctuary which Iktinos was bidden to enclose in his plan without altering its location. The fact is, a very unusual arrangement was adopted. A small sanctuary facing east had added to it, on the north, a large chamber; both compartments together from

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figure on the right is obviously copied from the Athena-Nike Balustrade. The copyist has omitted the wings and has changed the motive of the pose to the rather incredible picking up of a tainia with the foot. By contrast with this copy the drapery of the original gains in dignity. Still further removed from the original is the Roman relief, Text Illustration 33, which might almost be called a travesty.

[1] The temple was really in Bassai. It is, however, customarily spoken of as the temple of Phigaleia. Bassai means "the ravine," and there was no settlement near it.

the outside having the appearance of an ordinary temple, except that their long axis ran north and south instead of west and east. This appearance was enhanced by porticos on either side and by a surrounding colonnade. The entrance to the sanctuary was through a door opposite the columns numbers six and seven on the long east side. It could also be entered from the large adjoining room, whose wall was pierced, and to which there was probably a separate entrance from the north portico. Inside the large room there was a kind of a colonnade formed by engaged columns on projecting tiers. The frieze was placed above the architrave over these columns.

The frieze was thus fundamentally different from other known Greek friezes in that it decorated the inside instead of the outside of a sanctuary. The Parthenon frieze could be viewed only by traveling along with it; the Phigaleia frieze could be studied in its entirety from one spot by turning around from one side of the room to the other. The Parthenon frieze was placed in the semi-dark of the colonnade, dependent exclusively on the reflected light from below. The Phigaleia frieze doubtless received some light[1] from above.

All these and several more differences necessitated an entirely different design and a different technique in Phigaleia. The relief is high rather than low,[2] and its action "open" rather than "closed." Very few faces are seen in profile, because the position of the frieze made a view from all sides possible. If a face in Phigaleia is nevertheless in profile it is placed so near another object that its averted side cannot be seen even though one approach it from the direction toward

[1] The lighting of Greek temples is as yet an unsettled question.

[2] For the conditions determining the use of either high or low relief see E. von Mach, pp. 40ff.

which the head is looking. This is well seen in Plate 172a, where the profile head of the boy is placed close to the head of the centaur, or in Plate 173a, where the boy's leg prevents a view of the other side of the centaur head.

The subjects of the frieze are the fight against the centaurs on two sides, and the fight against the Amazons on the other sides. One might, however, well call them the Reign of Unbridled Passion. Nothing is sacred to the tribe of the centaurs. The mother with her baby in her arms is wantonly attacked by one, while another strips a woman at the very feet of the goddess, to whose image she clings. This madness of the enemies has kindled the passion of fury in the hearts of the defenders, and has embued them with unwonted strength. One youth hurling himself upon a centaur wrenches the head of his foe back until one almost hears the cracking of the broken backbone of the vanquished man-beast. Another pulls his foe along by the hair, while his brother, kneeling on the horsey body, is ready to deal his enemy the death blow, when he is arrested by a centaur back of him. The height of excitement is seen in the group where a centaur, attacked by two youths, is fighting with one boy man-fashion, and is kicking at the other with his horse's legs.

The frieze is full of stirring incidents. It cannot be viewed as placidly as the Parthenon frieze. One must take part in the struggle. Here one pities, there one hates, again one fears, and at another time one gives a sigh of relief. "Who is the artist," one instinctively asks, "who knew so well how to play on the passions of men?" His name is not recorded, and one turns to the reliefs themselves in the hope of finding there an indication of his identity. But one is mistaken. The figures offer a surprising medley of types from almost everywhere. The centaur, Plate 173a, is copied after the Parthenon metope with the dead Greek. There is the fluttering

panther skin and there the whisking tail! The motive, Plate 172b, is a curious mixture of the body of one of the "Fates," Plate 136, and of the bulging folds of the "Iris" from the Parthenon, Plate 138. The woman with arms extended reminds one of the "Venus Genetrix," Plate 108, and the youth hurling himself upon the centaur on the same slab seems to be inspired by the West Pediment of Olympia,[1] as is the boy thrusting his sword into the vitals of his foe, who is fighting man and beast fashion alike. Scanning all the slabs in the British Museum, one finds correspondences with almost all known monuments of the fifth century.

This is surprising, but far more surprising is the lack of skill, one might almost say the carelessness, with which the more telling incidents and gestures are dashed off. Proper proportions, beauty in detail, convincing grouping, — these are ideas that the sculptors have glaringly ignored. From the woman with outspread arms on Plate 172, to the dying centaur on Plate 173, there is hardly a figure that, taken from its context, would not call forth violent criticism. The left leg of the half-nude woman is too long, the centaur's hind legs are impossible. The youth does not kneel on the centaur's back, as does his brother further on, but seems to be slipping from it. The gap behind him is filled with a tree. The body of the centaur seizing the mother is too small, while her mantle surrounding her babe flutters in front of her instead of behind her, and her feet are poor. And so one might go on pointing out defects.

But then there are again wonderfully expressive motives. The agonized gesture of the centaur, on Plate 173a, pressing his hand, with thumb spread out, against his wound;[2] the

[1] The correspondence with Olympia is especially clear on several slabs not shown here, notably Overbeck I, fig. 131, west 6; and in the mode of fighting, *ib.*, fig. 132, south 23.

[2] For a similar gesture see one of the Parthenon metopes, where the hand itself, however, is hidden in the shadow.

boy kneeling on him and the other pulling him; the helpless nudity of the woman clinging to the idol,[1] and many more. Fine details also are not lacking. Even the lines in the hands of some of the figures have been carved true to nature,[2] while the hands[3] of Artemis, on the slab where she arrives (or starts) in her chariot are most beautifully modelled. The nudity of the woman, Plate 172, is not without a great deal of charm, and some of the Amazons are very graceful.

No one has yet been able to advance a theory which would account for these apparent incongruities. The most generally accepted suggestion is that the frieze was designed by one great artist, but that it was executed by an inferior company of stone-cutters, some of whom, however, had much skill. The difficulty with this theory is that the design itself shows many of the defects which the execution enhances. More probably, therefore, the origin of the frieze is due to the rather erratic genius of some man intimately acquainted with the art life of Greece. Who he was we are unable to say.

PLATE 174. Reconstruction of a Part of the Nereid Monument, Second Frieze, Stylobate and Intercolumniation, from Xanthos. Of marble. British Museum, London.

PLATES 175a and b and 176. Three Nereids of the Nereid Monument from Xanthos. Of marble. British Museum, London. Discovered, a few slabs of the frieze in 1838 and 1840, the rest in 1842. Purchased by the British Museum in 1843. F. W., 913ff.; Robinson, 498ff.; and especially *British Museum Catalogue* II, pp. 1ff., and complete bibliography, pp. 9 and 10. The most important review of the theories as to the date of the building, Overbeck I, 197 and 198; Furtwängler's dating (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 359) in the fifth century is now almost universally accepted.

[1] But notice her very poor right hand. [2] Best instance the extended right hand of Amazon, Overbeck I, fig. 13, east 20. [3] Most of the hands are very clumsy.

The probably accurate restoration of the Nereid monument, Text Illustration 39, shows the customary style of sepulchral structure[1] in Asia and Asia Minor. It is, however, unique, owing to its rich decorations and its many figures in the round between the columns. These figures have given the name to the monument, the majority of them having some kind of sea animals at their feet designating the sea, as the eagle in the Nike of Paionios was used to indicate air. If this explanation is correct — and no other has been offered — the girls themselves no doubt are Nereids, daughters of the Old Man of the Sea, who was seen struggling with Herakles, Plate 39. Their connection with a tomb is as obscure[2] as that of the "Harpies" on the "Harpy" monument, Plate 53.

The date of the building is now generally conceded to be the end of the fifth century. The friezes,[3] or at least one of them, apparently represent an historical event, a battle in the open, and the capture of a city. Our knowledge of Lykian history is too slight to make us sure of the event which is meant here. If we could determine this point, we should have a date after which the monument was built. Different suggestions have been made, none, however, to the universal satisfaction of scholars, some of whom still believe in a fourth century date. But they too acknowledge the affinity which the preserved figures bear to the fifth century style. They assume that it took many years before Attic achievements made themselves felt in Lykia. Since this is so, we may unhesitatingly discuss the Nereid monument in connection with other

[1] A shrine-like building on a base of considerable height.

[2] For a possible explanation see E. von Mach, pp. 130 and 131.

[3] There are four friezes, two on the huge base, one on the architrave of the shrine, and one inside the colonnade. The architectural member generally decorated with figures and placed above the architrave (see Athena-Nike temple, Plate 168) is omitted here.

fifth century works, unconcerned about the possible date when it was actually erected.

Three of the finest extant copies are shown on Plates 175 and 176. Skipping easily across the surface of the water, these figures do not seem to walk. Their motion is comparable to the flight of the Nike of Paionios, Plate 110. They are graceful figures, full of harmony and rhythm, using their draperies to the best advantage. Their bodies alone could never have expressed the abandon to the joy of effortless movement as well as their fluttering robes. The clinging garment of the figure, Plate 175a, is studied from the "Nike" of the Parthenon pediment, Plate 139, even to the point of having the wind carry off the folds on one leg. The nobility of the "Nike," however, is lost. It was the motive that interested the sculptor and not the thought expressed. The folds between the legs, strangely out of place with so thin a garment, are more like those of the "Iris," Plate 138, and almost identical with those of the mother on the Phigaleian frieze, Plate 172. In bodily form the other Nereid, Plate 175b, comes even closer to the "Iris," while Plate 176 almost gives one the impression of the Olympian Nike freed from restraint and given to the thorough enjoyment of her flight.

There is a sameness in the execution of all the Nereids that is apparent even in these three statues, which are the best of all that are preserved. In several of the others the poses are almost identical. And yet they are pleasing, each one being a variations, if not a new tune, of the general theme of joy in movement.

The friezes are unlike anything noted on the mainlaind in Greece. Doubtless the subjects were given, or no artist would have selected them, for they are ill-adapted to the art of sculpture. This is most especially true of the deserted city.[1]

[1] Excellent selections from the frieze, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. XXIV.

There is, however, much skill shown in grappling with them. The advance of the heavy armed men, Plate 174, is impressive. It suggests the irresistible force of a hoplite attack. The regiments of hoplites in antiquity took the place of the modern artillery. The artist has here, for the first time, made use of the opportunity that repetition offers when the single object would fail to arouse the interest of the spectator. Another similar instance[1] occurs on the smaller frieze; seven men hurrying along to proffer their gifts.

Several of the other slabs carry definite reminders either of the Parthenon or especially of the Athena-Nike frieze. An exaggerated use of fluttering draperies mars many, and few would interest us if they did not contain touches that are extremely human and true to nature. The passion, however, runs far less high, even in the battle scenes, than on the Phigaleian frieze. These people are fighting because they have to, if they were not fighting they might be friends; in Phigaleia they fight and kill each other because they want to, for they are consumed by the passion of hatred.

PLATE 177. Samples of the Friezes from a Grave Monument in Gyolbashi in Lykia. Of poor Lykian limestone. Imperial Museum, Vienna. Discovered in 1842, secured for Vienna in 1881. The standard publication of this monument is, *Das Heroon von Gjöl-Baschi*[2] *Trysa von Bendorf und Niemann;* F. W., 993ff.; Robinson, 504.

The tomb which these reliefs once decorated was a large

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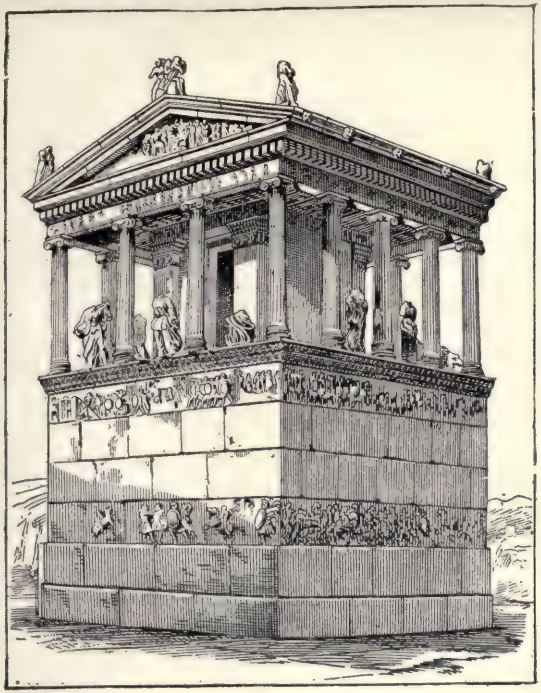
[1] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. XXIV, fig. 1224.

[2] The spelling Gjöl-Baschi is the German approximation to the native sound of the name of the place. Since letters have a different sound in English, there is no reason why the German spelling should be continued in English books. It would be different if Gjöl-Baschi, thus spelled, was the actual name of the place.



39. RESTORATION OF THE NEREID MONUMENT.

40. RESTORATION OF THE MAUSSOLLEION.

court[1] open to the sky and surrounded by four tremendous walls. The reliefs decorated the insides of all four walls and the outside of the wall which was pierced by the entrance door.

The subjects present a large medley. Most of them seem to be taken from Greek mythology, while some doubtless had reference to the exploits and to the events in the life of the dead.

The date cannot be ascertained with accuracy. Benndorf[2] has shown with great probability that the reliefs were made in the last years of the fifth century B. C.[3] They certainly contain many reminiscenses of the friezes of the Athena-Nike temple, of Phigaleia, and of other places.

The pictorial element in these reliefs is very strong, and some attempts at bold foreshortening have even been crowned with considerable success, notably in the case of the temple which appears in the story of the Leukippides. The preservation of these reliefs is of the poorest, owing to the extreme porousness of the limestone in which they are carved, and also to the fact that they have been exposed to the open air from the very beginning through more than two thousand years.

PLATE 178. Relief from Eleusis. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Discovered in Eleusis in 1859, removed first to the Theseion, which served as a national museum until the new building was completed. Furtwängler, *Denkmäler*, *Handausgabe*, pp. 36–39,

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[1] The court was about 78 feet long by 65 feet wide, and slightly irregular in shape. [2] *Gjöl-Baschi*, p. 231ff. [3] Overbeck II, p. 207, agrees, but calls attention to the draperies in the slabs representing the hunt of the Kalydonian Boar, which have a greater resemblance to works of the fourth century than to those of any other period.

who calls the figure to the left Persephone;[1] F. W., 1182, who calls her Demeter; and Robinson, 96, who follows Wolters. Older literature in F. W. and Robinson.

This large relief — the figures are lifesize — is still awaiting identification. Found in Eleusis, where Demeter and Persephone, her daughter, were worshipped, it, doubtless, has reference to an incident in the varied mythology of these goddesses. The veil of mystery that surrounded the Eleusinian cult in antiquity has not yet been lifted, and will probably never be raised sufficiently to grant us a clear view of what the Greeks portrayed as having taken place there. In respect to the boy on this relief, we know that two boys were brought in connection with the Eleusinian goddesses. One was Triptolemos, whom Demeter chose as intermediary to teach her people the blessings of agriculture. The other was a peculiar conception of Dionysos, the son of Zeus and of Demeter, by some accounts, or of Persephone by others. This Dionysos always appears as a boy or slender youth, not yet grown up, and is known, from the shouts uttered at his worship, as Iakchos.[2]

Triptolemos, receiving the ears of corn, is generally older, at least on many vase paintings, where the scene occurs. Most interpreters, nevertheless, believe that the marble relief represents this incident. The goddess to the left seems to be handing something to the boy, and the position of her hands renders it probable that the gift was one or more ears of corn. The small size of the boy may be due either to a different reading of the myth here followed from the one we

[1] Persephone is the Latin Proserpina or the English Proserpine. Persephone was the daughter of Demeter (Mother Earth) and, in contrast to the Mother, is often called the Girl, Kora.

[2] The literal similarity between this Iakchos and the more usual Bacchos is undeniable.

know, or to an artistic license. The sculptor made Triptolemos smaller so that he might impress the spectator with the size of the goddesses. There is, however, one difficulty with this interpretation. According to the myth, Demeter hands the corn to Triptolemos. She, therefore, ought to be the figure to the left. The other woman, not mentioned in the story, must be Persephone. It happens, however, that we should interpret the two women in exactly the opposite way if we were not influenced by the myth. The Ionic garment was going out of use in Athens in the middle of the fifth century. Matrons, it seems, continued to wear it, as, for instance, the Barberini Hera, Plate 105; while younger women put on the Doric chiton, which became characteristic of Athena, notice Athena Parthenos, Plates 96ff. Another relief from Eleusis,[1] now in Paris, shows the two goddesses, one of whom holds two ears of corn in her hand. She must be Demeter, but she is clad in the Ionic chiton; while the other woman is dressed in the Doric garment. Persephone, moreover, is also known as Kora,[2] and the Korai (maidens) from the Erechtheion porch wear the identical costume.

The attributes on the Athenian relief, scepter and torch, properly belong to both goddesses, and can, therefore, be of no service in the identification of either. The woman back of the boy seems to be placing a wreath on his head.[3] Such an incident is not transmitted in the legend of Triptolemos, although it is, of course, possible that the sculptor has invented it.

In view of these facts, it seems hasty to speak of a "prob-

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[1] A picture of it is given Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 416, fig. 457. [2] See above, Note, p. 155. [3] There is a bore-hole over his forehead where this wreath of bronze doubtless was attached. The hair, which it would have hidden, is less well finished than the rest.

ably accurate interpretation" of these figures from left to right as Demeter, Triptolemos and Persephone. On the contrary, Demeter is the woman on the right, unless — what is little likely — the artist chose to represent her in forms generally used to characterize her daughter; Persephone (Kora, the Maiden), the woman on the left; and the boy, either Dionysos (Iakchos), or less probably Triptolemos.

The difficulty which one has in distinguishing in this relief between mother and daughter shows how far the artists of this period were from character differentiation, beyond the mere expression of such general themes as dignity, kindness, weariness, and the like. They had, on the other hand, learned how to design grand and beautiful compositions. The combination of these three figures is excellent. Everything is arranged to make a view of the relief easy and pleasureable.[1] The transition from the tall Persephone to the boy would be difficult in spite of the connecting arms if it were not for the drooping curve of her garment under her right elbow, and the similarity of her hair[2] to that of the boy in front of her. The slender profile view of the boy's body is made to appear less slim by that part of his garment which hangs down from his right shoulder and disguises his hollow back. This garment served also another purpose, for it rendered easy the otherwise awkward position of the boy's right arm, and was an excellent foil against which to relieve the nude. Demeter, on the right, is drawn into the group not only by the action of her right hand, but also by the gentle droop of her head, carrying the eye of the spectator down to the boy, whose upward glance to the goddess before him

[1] See E. von Mach, Chap. VIII, pp. 60ff., "Physical effort and pleasure of looking at extended compositions."

[2] Compare also the hair of the Spinario, Plate 72.

makes a quick transition to Persephone possible. The prominent torch is another important factor of the design, without which Demeter would be a far less intimate part of the group, for by its lines, almost parallel to the axis of the boy's body, the eye of the spectator glides readily from one figure to the other.

The only really insurmountable difficulty which the artist encountered is found in the pose of Persephone. She is designed to stand like the woman in Copenhagen, Plate 77, with the bent left leg in advance. The slanting line of the upper leg was needed as a link between her and the boy. The many heavy folds were necessary to ensure dignified stability. How to combine the two elements gracefully and with apparent truth to nature the artist did not know. This, however, is but a minor defect, and in spite of it the Athenian relief is one of the best extant works of ancient art. Wolters says: "There is no other Greek work known to us of so eminently a religious character. . . . It is the most beautiful instance of an art founded on faith and carried along by it."

PLATE 179. Orpheus, Eurydike and Hermes. Relief of marble. Museum, Naples. There are two well-known replicas, one in Villa Albani, Helbig, 790; F. W., 1198; Robinson, 500; it has no inscriptions. The other in the Louvre with inscriptions reading Amphion, Antiopa, Zetus. This inscription is modern. The Naples inscriptions are by some also believed to be modern. For full bibliography, see F. W., 1198. The correspondence between the figures on this relief and some figures on the Parthenon frieze are pointed out by Pickard, *A. J. A.*, 1898, pp. 1669ff.

Hermes, who calls for souls to bring them to the lower world, has appeared. His duty here is to part the loving couple. Himself characterized by the petasos, the little hat on his back, he is undoubtedly Hermes, while the man who holds a

musical instrument in his hand is believed to be Orpheus, and the woman to be Eurydike. So they are designated by the inscriptions, but these inscriptions may be modern. Eurydike, the story goes, had died; but Orpheus, who had gone to the lower world in search of her, had been promised that she would return to him if he refrained from turning around until he had reached the upper world. When he came near the light, however, and did not hear her follow him he grew anxious and looked back, only to see her, like a shadow, disappear from his side into the darkness below.

This incident, most interpreters believe, was in the mind of the artist, who granted the couple, however, one last good-bye before their final separation. Artistic license is elastic, so that it is quite possible that the sculptor took liberties with the transmitted story. Barring, however, the lyre and the foreign costume of the man, there is nothing in this relief that did not apply equally as well to the parting of any loving couple.

With true Greek simplicity, the feeling of grief has been stripped of its exaggerated expression. The latter may be sung by the poet, but must not be carved; for it is not pleasant to look at. The incident of the parting of the lovers, however, far from losing any of its pathos, has gained because the grief is revealed to be lasting, and not fleeting like the violence of passionate outbursts.

The correspondence between these figures and several figures on the Parthenon frieze has recently been pointed out in detail,[1] and is indeed striking. Even the selvage edge on the mantle of Hermes is characteristic of the work on the Parthenon frieze. The drapery of Orpheus reminds one of that of the Berlin Amazon, Plate 118.

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[1] Pickard in article mentioned above. The correspondence is especially strong with figures from the West Frieze on Plates 146 and 153, and the first figure on the East Frieze.

The combination of the figures, however, and the design of the relief is original, and shows an admirable artistic temper. The appearance of the relief was enhanced by color, which added much, for instance, to the legs of Orpheus shod in shoes which are merely blocked out in the marble.

The left foot of Eurydike is rather awkward. Its direction, however, clearly indicates whither Eurydike was walking when Hermes gently touched her wrist to take her away. The end of the garment against which her head is relieved is with true artistic license carved where it is not intended to *appear* to be, behind her head. She had it over her head and had pulled one end aside so that Orpheus could see her. If the artist had carved her thus the spectator could not have seen her face. To avoid this the sculptor took liberties which remind one of the practices of Fra Angelico and of many Italians, who often painted the halos not on the heads of their angels, but back of them, or in front of them or to one side, as the arrangement of the composition demanded.

PLATE 180. Hermes and the Nymphs, or the Graces. Of marble. Museum, Berlin. Found, date unknown, on the Quirinal in Rome. *Berlin Catalogue*, No. 709.

The Graces were originally nymphs. They appear, three in number,[1] on the relief from Thasos,[2] Plate 54, together with Hermes, so that these girls here may also be Graces and not, as is generally stated, nymphs.

The studied variety in poses and garments which the Thasian artist had sought to attain, is here carried to perfection. The beautiful unconsciousness of the earlier work, however, is missing. The later sculptor has rested satisfied with weaving familiar types into a pleasing group, unmindful of the accruing

[1] For this number see E. von Mach, p. 135.

[2] Where they are named in the inscription as Graces, Charites.

inconsistencies. The girl to the right is dancing. Her garment shows this, and she occurs also on a later relief as a dancing Mainad.[1] The center figure is standing still, or is at best walking, in spite of the wavy edge of her mantle. Her exaggerated, almost unpleasantly large, step compares ill with the slow and delicate rhythm to which the last girl is moving. Hermes, in a graceful pose, stands in front of the girls. His right arm reminds one of the left arm of the Eleusinian Apollo in Berlin, Plate 127, and his general pose, which is borrowed from the boy of the West Frieze of the Parthenon, on Plate 146, is echoed again in a much later work, the Hermes on the column from Ephesos, Plate 217. He holds his fair neighbor gently by the wrist, just as he holds Eurydike, Plate 179.

The little figure to the left is a human being, distinguished from the gods by his diminutive size, as is customary in votive reliefs. From the opposite side the river god Achelaos[2] in his cave is watching the gods. Over him Pan was sitting, but his figure is now broken away, all but his goat's feet.

There is little originality in this relief, which seems to be not a Roman copy, but, as the Pentelic marble[3] indicates, a genuine Athenian work of the fifth century. It shows how even in that period there were marked differences between the creations of the sculptors. Some conceived mighty thoughts and appealed to the divine instincts of their fellow-men. Others borrowed their types and were satisfied with arranging them skilfully so as to please the refined taste of their customers.

PLATE 181. Medeia and the Daughters of Pelias. Relief of marble, said to be Pentelic. Lateran Museum, Rome.[4] Found, 1814,

[1] See Plate 219. [2] Achelaos is often represented in this shape. [3] It seems to be proved that the marble of this relief is Pentelic. [4] It was found necessary, at the last moment, to substitute the replica in

in the foundation of the pavement of the old Academia de France (Palazzo Simonetti). Helbig, 635; F. W., 1200; Robinson, 503. A replica of the same in Berlin, *Catalogue*, No. 927, where a full bibliography is given, to which Kekulé's article, *Jahrbuch* XII, 1897, pp. 96ff., must be added. For an interesting vase painting depicting the same, incident, see Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1201, fig. 1394.

Medeia, the sorceress, had told the daughters of Pelias that she could rejuvenate old people. To show her powers she had bidden the girls to bring her an old ram. This she had slaughtered, boiled in a kettle, and made to re-appear as a lamb, as is seen in the vase painting mentioned above. The girls are persuaded, and ready to kill their father, trusting that also he will come out from the cauldron, by the power of Medeia, a young man. Medeia, however, has no intention of exerting her supernatural gift. She desires the death of Pelias.

On the relief the preparations are made, Medeia with her box, supposed to contain her herbs of youth, is seen on the left, characterized as a foreigner by her Oriental garb, the Phrygian cap and the sleeves of her mantle. One daughter is arranging the cauldron, while the other is given to a moment of thought before risking the deed — the killing of her father. Her attitude is strangely enough not unlike that[1] of Medeia herself in an ancient wall painting, where she is seen as hesitating before killing her own children; while on the other

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the Berlin Museum. Date and place of discovery unknown. It was in the Palazzo Strozzi in Rome in 1550, bought for Berlin in 1842. Restorations: the left hand, lower corner, with the feet of Medeia. The entire relief has been polished, and the branch in the hand of the right hand figure been sketched in this process.

[1] See Springer-Michaelis I, p. 173, fig. 309; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 875, fig. 948.

hand it bears strong resemblances to several draped figures of women in the fifth century.

The pathos of the story here enacted is stripped of all the excitement that must have accompanied the incident itself. It is in this respect like the Orpheus, Eurydike and Hermes relief, Plate 179. Its very successful arrangement of figures and its distribution of masses is comparable to the exquisite design of the Naples relief. Medeia herself, moreover, compares well with the erect goddess on the slab from Eleusis, Plate 178. The two figures are similarly posed, but the attitude of Medeia indicates greater skill on the part of the artist, who combined the bent left leg and the straight folds on the right leg with a more convincing verisimilitude to nature.

PLATE 182. Fragment of a Horseman. Of limestone, probably from Boiotia. Vatican Museum, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. Brought to Italy with the Greek spoils of the army of Morosini, in 1687. It passed through several collections until it was finally deposited in the Vatican Museum under Pius VII (1800–1823).

The strong resemblance between this figure and several horsemen of the Parthenon frieze has led people to see in it a fragment of the Parthenon. This view, however, is disproved by the difference of the material, a rather coarse limestone, probably from Boiotia, and also by the difference in technique. The relief of the Vatican horseman is about twice as high.[1] More recently it has been suggested that this horseman was part of a grave relief. As such it was to be seen in the strong light of out-of-doors, for which the low relief of the Parthenon frieze was not adapted.[2] The sculptor, therefore, borrowed a type of a famous work, but executed it inde-

[1] Or deep. See E. von Mach, pp. 39f., 41ff. [2] See E. von Mach, pp. 41ff.

pendently in a technique demanded by the use to which his work was to be put. This gives one an opinion of the Boiotian (?) sculptor that is by no means low, in spite of the fact that he borrowed his type and did not invent it. The Greeks, apparently, had no conscientious scruples against building on the achievements of their predecessors, the chief aim of all artists being to execute their motives, whether individually conceived or borrowed, so that they appeared to be the best adapted to the needs which they were destined to fill.

PLATE 183. Votive Relief of Herakles. Of marble. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Very small. Acquired with the Perkins' Collection. No further information published.

This little relief is interesting as showing the method in ancient Greece of adapting well-known types to new uses, unmindful of how little the new setting agreed with the original design. Votive reliefs, as a rule, were not made by first-class men, and this accounts for their comparatively low standard. On the other hand, however, this relief tends to fill one with admiration for the delicate feeling for lines and masses that even the lesser sculptors possessed. One finds no difficulty in surveying the design, which is simple, orderly, and, to a certain extent, impressive. The eye glides easily and with a sense of physical pleasure from one figure to the other. Only a more detailed study reveals the inappropriateness of the youth in profile. He is leaning much too far backward. His pose is copied from the Parthenon frieze,[1] where it served a definite purpose, and, in its proper setting, passed unnoticed. Transition had to be made between the rapidly moving cavalcade and the slowly moving procession of maidens At the critical

[1] See plates accompanying the Handbook.

point several youths were introduced, bearing implements for the sacrifice. If they had been represented walking straight, they would have failed to mark the necessary transition. They were therefore carved like men checking the speed of onward movement — leaning back. It is these slanting lines that break the continuity of the formerly suggested rapidity, and prepare the way for the calm stateliness of the maidens. Taken from their setting these youths[1] are unpleasant.

What is true of all of these youths is especially true of the single adaptation of one of them in the Boston votive offering. He is undraped, so that his inaccurate pose is even more noticeable, and, to cap the climax, a cloak hangs from his shoulder in almost vertical lines, as if inviting one to measure how much the youth deviates from the correct posture of a normal man.

The figure of the other man is even less satisfactory. He is Herakles, as the lion's skin indicates, and as such has received proportions of such muscular strength that his body is unnatural. The sculptor has stooped to the crude device of portraying strength by size, forgetful of the fact that the limits that circumscribe art are narrower than those that bind the fancy of the mythologist. The latter had described Herakles as *unnaturally* strong. To carve him thus was not permitted to the artist, at least not so long as he portrayed Herakles as a man; for a man's physical development must be within the bounds of the naturally probable.

The skin, doubtless intended to be the skin of a lion — for the inscription on the altar refers to Herakles — is copied from the panther skin on one of the Parthenon metopes, Plate 161a. The physique of both figures reminds one of the work of Polykleitos (see Plate 113).

[1] This is well seen wherever a slab of these Parthenon youths is hung alone, as frequently happens.

Part Five.

Fourth Century.

The once prevalent view that the artists of the fourth century before Christ despaired of equaling the achievements of Pheidias and therefore consciously refrained from touching on grand themes, preferring to excel only in beauty of finish, is no longer held by any but the most backward students of art. If "grand themes" had appealed to the people, the artists of the fourth century would have executed them, little concerned about borrowing from their predecessors. The modern craving for something new did not disturb the breasts of the ancients. Types were copied or adapted as long as they promised to find favor; for the Greeks knew nothing of copyrights and patents. Praxiteles imitated the Artemis [1] by Strongylion,[2] and the sculptors of the Parthenon wove into their design [3] several well-known figures.

The difference between the sculpture of the fifth and of the fourth centuries is not an artificial one of the artists' own making, but the natural result of the changes [4] that had taken place in Greece. The individual, unknown in the fifth century, had stepped into his rights. In front of an indubitably fifth century work one is inclined to ask, "What is the nature

[1] For a discussion of this Artemis see the review of Reinach's article, *A. J. A.*, VII, 1903, p. 465. [2] Strongylion was in his prime about 410 B. C. [3] See E. von Mach, p, 218. [4] The changes are fully discussed and explained in E. von Mach, pp. 262ff.

of this god?" Turning to a statue of the next period, one inquires, "What does he feel?" and adds, with deference to the personal note in this art, "How do I like him?"

The artists, of course, strove to create works that should be liked, and so a change naturally took place in the conception of the gods. They lost much of their former impassive grandeur and assumed the appealing beauty that characterizes the fourth century. Most of them appeared in more youthful forms than had pleased an earlier generation, a fact which enables Waldstein[1] to say with some justification that a "general tendency to rejuvenescence in the types of the gods marks the difference between the fifth and fourth centuries of Greek art." Love, peace, hatred, anguish, resignation, — in short, all the human passions are portrayed in the eighty years from the turn of the century to the death of Alexander. The individual and his feelings are the constant but ever varying theme. If it were not so, even the wonderful perfection of finish and the beauty of harmonious designs could not place this art by the side of the creations of Pheidias. But there it belongs, not on account of its external refinement, but rather in spite of it.

The Romans loved this period best of any and copied[2] more statues of the fourth century than of any other period. In their own soulless age, however, they looked more for external charm than for inherent worth, so that most of their copies have preserved of the double excellence only the former. This must be kept in mind if one would do justice to the artists of the fourth century, whose work one can study to-day only by means of late and inadequate copies.

PLATE 184. Eirene and Ploutos, after Kephisodotos. Of Pentelic

[1] *J. H. S.*, XXI, 1901, p. 31. [2] For Roman copies see E. von Mach.

marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Date of discovery unknown. The group appeared first in the Villa Albani, whence it was removed to Paris by Napoleon I. It was purchased for Munich in 1816. Restorations: the right arm and the fingers of the left hand, also small parts of the drapery of Eirene, the right arm, the left foot, parts of the right foot and the neck of Ploutos. The head of Ploutos is antique, but does *not* belong to the statue. The vase is a mistaken restoration. A replica of the boy in Athens indicates a cornucopia. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 219, with full bibliography; F. W., 1210, and the replica in Athens, 1211; Robinson, 515. The head alone, Plate 473a.

The tenderness of the mother toward her child is the more apparent in this group, as it is simple and natural, and the more astonishing as it has been added to the stern type of an earlier age by means of only few alterations. The motive of the drapery is like that of the Maiden, Plate 166, but in heaviness it resembles rather the garment of the Parthenos, Plate 97, or of the "Hera," Plate 104. No better comparison can be made than between this "Hera" and the Eirene group, if one would contrast the gentleness of the fourth century with the stern grandeur of the preceding age.[1] Nor can the readiness of the later sculptor to borrow and to adapt earlier types be more readily perceived than by studying the drapery of Eirene together with that of the "Dancers," Plate 76, of the Parthenos, Plate 97, of the "Hera," Plate 104, and of the Maiden, Plate 166. In time, the Munich group is nearest to the Erechtheion Maiden, but in vigor and grandeur of execution it goes back to the Pheidian works. Even the straight supporting fold from the knee of the less engaged (right) leg is copied from the Parthenos.

The child is unduly small and unnaturally far to one side. The artist obviously feared to break the lines of the impressive

[1] This age, to be sure, had in figures like the Apollo, Plate 70, paved the way for greater mildness.

drapery.[1] The head does not belong to the figure, while the head of the replica in Athens reveals unmistakable signs of resemblance to the child in the arms of Hermes, Plate 190.

The original of this group was of bronze, erected in Athens in honor of Eirene (Peace) and her child Ploutos (Wealth). In front of the group was an altar, on which yearly sacrifices were offered to these deities. The maker of the group was Kephisodotos, which is a name of frequent occurrence in the family of Praxiteles, who himself was the son of one Kephisodotos. It used to be believed that the father of Praxiteles and the sculptor of Eirene and Ploutos were identical. This view, however, has few adherents to-day, because the style of Eirene belongs too distinctly to the fourth century, while the father of Praxiteles must have been in his prime during the last decades of the preceding century.

Praxiteles and his School.

Irrespective of the few statues that can clearly be identified with Praxiteles, the name of this sculptor stands for certain definite art tendencies which are found in a large number of extant monuments. For the study of ancient art, little is gained by drawing a strong line between the few surely Praxitelean works and the many unidentified statues exhibiting his style in a more or less marked degree. While on the other hand, the cause of knowledge is better served by acknowledging our lack of accurate information than by arbitrarily increasing the cycle of Praxitelean works with brilliant guesses. Professor Klein's work on Praxiteles seems to err in the latter direction. The fact that a statue *may* have been made by a certain artist is no

[1] Contrast this group with Silenos and the infant Dionysos, Plate 245.

proof that it actually was made by him; while the absence of a definite proof by no means implies that the statue ought to be credited to some one else. It simply goes to show how difficult it is to be sure on a point after the lapse of two millenia.

The undoubtedly Praxitelean works are the "Hermes" found in Olympia, Plate 190, the "Apollo Sauroktonos," Plates 185 and 186, and the Knidian Aphrodite, Plates 198 and 199a. Of these only the Hermes is an original, the others are copies. In addition, some scholars believe they are able to prove that also the Mantineian Base, Plates 210ff., and the Aphrodite in the British Museum, Plate 200, are by Praxiteles. Of these again only the Mantineian Base is an original.

As to the majority of the other statues grouped together here, there is much unanimity on the part of scholars in seeing in them works created under the influence of, if not in a few cases by, Praxiteles. Plates 191–193, three statues of Hermes, and Plate 202, Venus Medici, are included in this list only for the sake of comparison; while Plates 208a and 208b are doubtful. They have recently been assigned to Lysippos.

PLATE 185. "Apollo Sauroktonos," after Praxiteles. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered in 1777 in the Villa Magnani on the Palatine Hill in Rome. Restorations: practically the entire head, except the right side of the face; the right forearm; three fingers of the left hand; almost the entire right leg, and the left leg from below the knee; part of the tree-trunk; the upper part of the lizard; and the plinth. E. von Mach, pp. 269ff.; Helbig, 194; Robinson, 519; Reinach I, 239, 1.

PLATE 186. "Apollo Sauroktonos," after Praxiteles. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Formerly in the Villa Borghese. Restorations: the head, which was broken from the statue, but is said to belong to it; the right hand and adjoining part of the right arm; almost the en-

tire left arm; head and neck of the lizard. The feet of "Apollo" were broken, but are antique. Fröhner, *Sculpture Antique*, No. 70; E. von Mach, pp. 269ff., especially 271; Reinach I, 135, 5 and 6; Helbig, 749; F. W., 1214; Reinach II, 100, 3 (not, as F. W., erroneously states, I, 249, 3). A less accurate copy is in the Albertinum in Dresden, E. von. Mach, Plate XXVII, 4.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION 27. "Apollo Sauroktonos." Of bronze. Villa Albani. Found, date unknown, in a vineyard below the Church of S. Balbina, Restorations: The tree and the lizard. Helbig, 749; F. W., 1214; Reinach II, 100, 3.

The important points for the study of these statues, which are fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 269ff., are:

1. Complete bodily and mental rest portrayed in the lines of the figure, and suggested by the presence of the shy lizard.

2. Mistaken name "Lizard Killer" (Sauroktonos) for the youth who is absent-mindedly watching the lizard.

3. The curve in the body, unlike anything in earlier statues. Contrast it with the "Apollo" of Tenea, Plate 14; the Munich "Hero," Plate 71; and the Doryphoros, Plate 113.

4. The inappropriate change in the Louvre copy, Plate 186, where the tree-trunk is drawn too close to the body of the figure. For a still nearer trunk see the statue in Dresden (E. von Mach, Plate XXVII, fig. 4).

PLATE 187. Dionysos, "Sardanapallos". Of marble. Vatican Museum, Rome. Discovered in 1761 in the ruins of a villa in the neighborhood of Frascati in Italy. The only restorations are the point of the nose, the lips, the right arm, and fragments of the drapery. Helbig, 327; F. W., 1284 (only the bust); Reinach I, 382, 7.

An inscription on the mantle of this figure reads, "Sardanapallos." Just why this wrong inscription was placed there no one knows. Helbig suggests, "Some *bon vivant* of the

imperial epoch, interested in Sardanapallos, whose refined luxury was a proverb in antiquity, may have wished to possess a portrait of him. This wish being impossible of fulfilment, either he himself or some accommodating art dealer gave the name of Sardanapallos to a statue of the bearded Dionysos, who corresponded in many respects with a luxurious Oriental potentate."

Scholars to-day agree that the Vatican statue represents Dionysos. This god was variously portrayed. As an infant, he was carried by Hermes to the Nymphs, Plates 190 and Text Illustration 31, or held in the arms of Silenos, Plate 245; as a youth he appears in the statue in Rome, Plate 276, and probably in a bronze in Naples, Plate 194; and as bearded, thoughtful, almost sad but benign, we see him in the Vatican statue and in the Naples head, Plate 498.

It is this sadness of expression that clearly places the Vatican statue in the fourth century, while its supreme dignity, and pleasing, not pathetic expression, render it impossible to ascribe him to the cycles of any other fourth century sculptor than Praxiteles. Of this artist we know[1] that he portrayed Dionysos, and although the description of the statue by him does not tally with the extant copy, there is no reason to suppose that he did not make other statues of the same god.

Another suggestion is that the original was by Kephisodotos, the maker of Eirene and Ploutos, Plate 184. Both statues are touched with sentiment, both show the love of the artist for the monumental effect of drapery. The folds of the undergarment of Dionysos are, however, so fussy that it is difficult to imagine that they should have pleased the maker of Eirene. They remind one more of the garment of the Matron in Dresden, Plate 208.

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[1] Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 1222.

In order to get the full effect of the drapery of Dionysos it is wise to compare this statue with other draped figures, for instance, the Hera Barberini, Plate 105, the Athena of Velletri, Plate 107, and Sophokles, Plate 412. A comparison with this last statue is especially valuable in revealing the devices by means of which the artist made his Dionysos appear to be a man of liberal proportions. He has thrown his cloak around him so that the folds hang from the extended elbow rather than from the side of the body. This necessitated a peculiar deviation from the natural in the representation of the undergarment in order to avoid an empty space and not to give away the device. The width of the garment below is too great to be natural.

The hair of the head and the beard of Dionysos are long and beautiful, but with that peculiar suggestion of voluptuous growth that is reflected in the body, and that belongs properly to Dionysos, the god of wine and easy living. In technique the locks falling over the left shoulder remind one of those of some of the Akropolis figures, Plates 26 and 27. This reminiscence of what is old and gone by adds to the somewhat heavy conception of the god an element of venerable distinction.

PLATE 188. Eros with a Bow. Of marble. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Place and date of discovery unknown, formerly in the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. Restorations: the end of the nose, the wings (except their roots), the arms from below the shoulders, the right foot, the lower left leg, the stump and the quiver. Helbig, 429; F. W., 1582; Reinach I, 352, 7; compare also Reinach II, 427, 1ff.

PLATE 189. Eros Centocelle. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Found in Centocelle near Rome, and acquired for the Vatican by Pope Clement XIV (1769–1774). Only the point of the nose and fragments of the hair are restored. Helbig, 185; F. W., 1578; Reinach I, 537, 1. For a fully restored replica in Naples see the picture in Knackfuss-Zimmermann, Pl. 193, fig. 136.

These two statues of Eros have been placed together for the sake of comparison, although only the second seems definitely to belong to the cycle of Praxitelean works. It is probably the copy of the Thespian Eros by that master. The first statue has been tentatively assigned to Lysippos, but without cogent arguments. It may be the adaptation of a type created in the time of Praxiteles. Judging by gems[1] the restoration of the bow is inaccurate. Eros was endeavoring to fasten the string on his bow.

The restoration of the Eros Centocelle has given much difficulty. Wolters (F. W., 1578) believes that he held a torch turned down in his right hand. This was the symbol of death, and Erotes are sometimes seen with it on Roman sarcophagi. Helbig, on the contrary, contends that the right arm hung loose by the side of the body, and that his hand was empty. The left arm may have rested on a bow or a pillar. The latter view seems to be substantiated by a number of replicas, one a Pompeian stucco relief.[2] The actual appearance of the Thespian Eros by Praxiteles is not recorded. It is, however, a pleasant supposition that the Centocelle figure copies that famous statue. This view gains probability, since there are many replicas extant, which would be the case only with a famous original.

Most important, however, is the general Praxitelean character[3] of this work — peace of mind coupled with ease of pose — and in the lines of the body a most harmonious rhythm. It is the beginning of that rhythm which singles out the Hermes of Praxiteles, Plate 190, and the "Marble Faun," Plate 195, as works of surpassing beauty. With the legs of Eros gone, it is, of course, difficult to feel the full force of this rhythm,

[1] Pictures of two gems, Helbig I, p. 316. [2] Helbig I, p. 119. [3] For Praxitelean character see E. von Mach, pp. 265ff.

but one has only to compare the Centocelle figure with the "Hermes" in Boston, Plate 124, in order to see that none but a supreme master could have designed it.

The finish of the statue is hard, in reality even harder than the photograph reveals. The figure, also, seems rather too slight, but this defect was counterbalanced by the wings, now lost, that were added in the holes on the back, and acted as foils to the slim body, enhancing the delicacy of the rhythm.

PLATE 190. Hermes of Praxiteles. Of marble. Museum, Olympia. Discovered May 8, 1877, in the ruins of the Heraion, during the German excavations of Olympia. Traces of color were found, although they have now disappeared, on the mouth, in the hair, and on the sandal (not reproduced in the plate). E. von Mach, pp. 271ff; F. W., 1212; Robinson, 516; Reinach II, 173, 1. See also Helbig, 79.

Pausanias (V, 17, 3) mentions a Hermes carrying the child Dionysos to the nymphs,[1] of marble, in the Heraion in Olympia. It is, therefore, now generally accepted that the discovered statue is the work of Praxiteles.[2] This statue is fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 271ff. The important points are:

1. The beauty of the surface finish.
2. Its remarkable state of preservation, owing to a number of lucky circumstances.
3. Its inferiority in design to other statues by Praxiteles, of which, however, only *copies* are extant. It was in antiquity not mentioned among the great works of the master.
4. The absent-mindedness of Hermes, who might be called

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[1] For another treatment of this subject see Text Illustration No. 31.

[2] It is true that Pliny, *N. H.*, 34, 87, credits the elder Kephisodotos with a statue of Hermes finding the infant Dionysos. No place is mentioned.

"Hermes the Dreamer." It is enhanced by the playing infant, who here takes the place of the lizard in the so-called Sauroktonos figures, Plates 185ff.

5. The expressive sunny eyes and the intentionally less beautiful mouth.

The little Dionysos is treated merely as an accessory, and is conventional. He cannot, therefore, be taken as an illustration of what the fourth century sculptors were able to do in statues of children. For excellent heads of children see the Stele of Kephisodotos, *J. H. S.*, XI, p. 101 (picture), or the head from Paphos, *J. H. S.*, IX, Plate X. For the motive of Hermes taking the child Dionysos to the nymphs [1] to be nursed, see the relief, Text Illustration 31; for the general motive of the pose of Hermes, see the statues of Hermes, Plates 191–193, especially the Hermes of Andros. For possible copies of Hermes see the torso in the Vatican, Helbig, 79; Reinach II, 173, 2. Several small reproductions, among them a bronze in the Louvre, Reinach II, 173, 3–8.

PLATE 191. Hermes of Andros. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Discovered in 1833, on the island of Andros, "in a sepulchral chamber" (Wolters), together with the statue of a woman. Only the left leg from below the knee to the ankle is restored. F. W., 1220; Robinson, 521; Reinach II, 149, 10.

PLATE 192. Hermes Belvedere. Of Marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered in 1543 near the castle of S. Angelo, in Rome, placed in the Belvedere Garden by Paul III (1534–1549). Four toes of the right foot were restored in ancient times. The legs of the statue were broken when it was found, and the joining of the right leg to the foot, being poorly done, has given the leg an unpleasant curve. The statue used to be called "Antinoos." Helbig, 145; Reinach I, 376, 2 (with restored arms).

[1] Or in this particular relief only one nymph.

PLATE 193. Hermes Farnese. Of Marble. British Museum London. Date and place of discovery unknown. It was sold by the Sassi family in 1546 to the Farnese family, and was acquired from them in 1864 for the British Museum. Restorations: left leg from below the knee, front part of right foot, and most of the wings, left hand, tip of the nose, lower lip and chin, part of the staff and of the drapery. *British Museum Catalogue*, 1599, with full bibliography; Reinach II, 149, 1.

These three statues are grouped together as offering interesting material for comparison with the Hermes of Praxiteles. The Hermese Belvedere and the Hermes Farnese are late copies. The figure from Andros may belong to the fourth century and is, possibly, not intended to represent a Hermes, but to be a statue of the deceased in whose tomb it was found.[1] The snake on the tree trunk may designate the dead as hero, while it may also be the attribute of Hermes marking his connection with the dead, whose souls it was his duty to usher to the lower world.

The interesting question arises: Did Praxiteles invent this type of Hermes, or did he merely make use of it in his Olympian figure? In view of the fact that he copied[2] the Artemis of Strongylion, the latter alternative is by no means impossible. It is even probable that the type was famous before Praxiteles added the little Dionysos and introduced into his figure his own peculiar rhythm;[3] for it is difficult to imagine that a later artist should have copied the Praxitelean Hermes so accurately as these three figures do, without preserving its chief charm, its rhymth.

PLATE 194. "Narkissos," probably Dionysos. Small statuette of bronze. Museum, Naples. Found in 1863 in a house of the

[1] See the arguments F. W., 1220. [2] See *A. J. A.*, VII, 1903, p. 465. [3] See E. von Mach, pp. 270ff.

seventh region in Pompeii. The base is restored; a part of the ancient base shows under the right foot in the profile view, indicating that the statue, as now erected, tilts too far forward. F. Hauser, *Jahrbuch* IV, 1889; pp. 113ff., with pictures showing the mistake corrected. Mau-Kelsey, pp. 452f.; Reinach II, 1217.

The restlessness of lines, at present noticeable in this figure, is less pronounced when the figure is tilted back until the level of its base is parallel with the fragment of the ancient base preserved under its right foot, and when this piece is sunk into the level of the floor on which the figure is supposed to stand. But even these changes do not add that element of rest that one instinctively feels belongs to the figure. The Praxitelean rhythm is unmistakable, so that one is at once reminded of the device of this master of completing the rhythm of his figures with external additions; the tree trunk in the Hermes and the "Sauroktonos," Plates 190 and 185, the drapery on the vase in the Knidian Aphrodite, Plate 198, etc. In this case a panther has been suggested, which animal is frequent with Dionysos, as, for instance, Plate 219.[1] Rearing at the side of Dionysos, the panther supplies the stability to the design which now is lacking. It also explains the pose of the god, who is playfully teasing his pet.

Thus understood, the Naples bronze resembles the "Sauroktonos." It is, however, much less restrained in lines, and, therefore, less satisfactory as a constant companion. If the design is by Praxiteles, the "too-much" has been added by the sculptor who made the reduced copy. If this is not the case, a later admirer of the Praxitelean rhythm must be credited with the conception of the figure.

[1] The type of Dionysos has here, by the addition of peculiar ears, been changed to that of Satyr in the service of Dionysos, the god of wine.

The popular name "Narkissos" is wrong. It was based on the misconception that this boy of supreme beauty was represented as watching the reflection of his face in the brook at his feet.

The Naples bronze never fails to charm the observer. It is, however, much over-rated; and, although extremely graceful, has no place at the side of the masterpieces of Greek sculpture

PLATE 195. Satyr. "Marble Faun." Of Marble. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Discovered probably[1] in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, exact date unknown. It was placed in the Capitoline collections by Pope Benedictus XIV in 1753. Restorations: the nose, the right fore arm, the flute, practically the entire left arm, the right foot, parts of the toes of the left foot, a few fragments of the panther skin and the plinth. Helbig, 525; E. von Mach, pp. 267ff.; Robinson, 517; Reinach I, 401, 4; Overbeck II, p. 77, note 59, with complete bibliography. The name "Marble Faun" was given to the statue by Hawthorne, who based on it one of his best-known novels. For numerous replicas see Reinach II, 134ff. An Artemis from Mytelene, now in Constantinople, is doubtless inspired by this type, *A. J. A.*, I, Plate IX.

PLATE 196. Torso of a Satyr, Replica of Plate 195. Of Marble. Louvre, Paris. Discovered on the Palatine in Rome during excavations conducted there by Napoleon III, between 1861 and 1865. E. von Mach, p. 268; Robinson, 518; Reinach II, 135, 1.

These statues have been assigned to Praxiteles on internal evidence. We know of no other sculptor whose style[2] is so

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[1] Robinson, No. 517, gives the place of discovery, without citing his authority, as the site of a villa of Antoninus Pius, and the date as 1701. [2] The suggestion that these statues and their numerous replicas are copies of a painting, the "Resting Satyr," by Protogenes, has found little favor.

completely reflected in them as that of this master. Satyr statues, moreover,[1] were favorites with him, one of which received in antiquity the name of the "world-famed." The extant statues cannot be identified with any of the three satyrs described in literature. There is, however, no objection to assuming that Praxiteles made more Satyr statues than the three whose names have been recorded. This view seems especially correct because the surface modelling of the excellent torso in the Louvre resembles that of the Hermes, Plate 190.

These statues are fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 266ff. The essential points are:

1. The motive; a boy at rest and yet on the alert.

2. The well-disguised identity of the little fellow's race, until one notices his ears.

3. The telling use made in the original, probably of bronze, of the long tail of the panther skin, a motive not reproduced in the best marble copies, but retained in the Satyr in the Vatican (E. von Mach, Plate XXVII, Fig. 3). The Satyr played absent-mindedly with this tail, swinging it to and fro. The suggested movement enhanced the stillness of the boy, just as the lizard had done in the case of the "Sauroktonos," Plate 185, and the little Dionysos with Hermes, Plate 190.

4. The beauty of finish of the Louvre torso, which, however, for several reasons, cannot be the original.[2]

PLATE 197. Satyr Pouring Wine. Of Marble. Museo delle Terme, Rome; formerly Museo Bon Campagni-Ludovisi. Restora-

[1] Robinson correctly mentions three. Of these, one was in Rome, he says, according to Pliny. He gets his authority, doubtless, from Pliny, *N. H.*, 34, 69, but Pliny mentions no place for the satyr.

[2] This view was held by Brunn, *Deutsche Rundschau*, VIII, 1882, p. 200.

tions: raised right arm, left lower arm, elbow, part of the drinking horn, and various less important parts. Th. Schreiber, 71; Helbig, 881; Reinach II, 139, 7. For several replicas see Th. Schreiber, 71 and Reinach II, 139, 5.

Of this, as of the other Satyr, Plates 195, 196, numerous copies exist, showing that the original was very famous. One of the best replicas is in Dresden.[1] The attempt to identify[2] this statue with one of the Praxitelean Satyrs known from literature has failed. The reasons for assigning it to the cycle of Praxiteles are the same as those advanced in the discussion of Plates 195, 196, but they are less cogent, the characteristic rhythm of that master being less in evidence here than in the other figures. There is, however, enough of the style of Praxiteles in the statue to make one admit the possibility of its origin in his studio.

PLATE 198. Aphrodite, copy of the Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles. Of Marble, above life size. Vatican, Rome. There is much confusion concerning the date of discovery and the addition of a tin drapery to this figure. The facts, as set forth by Michaelis, *J. H. S.*, VIII, 1887, pp. 324–355, are: one copy was in the Vatican in the reign of Pope Julius II (1503–1513), another was added under Clement VII (1523–1534).[3] In the eighteenth century, from motives of propriety, a tin garment was ordered made for the best of the two statues. The garment was, however, added, either intentionally or by mistake, to the inferior copy. The wave of puritanic morals having subsided for a time, nothing was done to the better statue. Pope Gregory XVI (1831–1846) finally issued the order to banish from his galleries all statues of nude women, which relegated the best extant copy of the Knidian Aphrodite to the magazines of the Vatican, where it was last seen by Feuerbach in 1839. The tin garment has been only

[1] Reinach II, 139, 5 and 6. [2] See the discussion, F. W., 1217, note on page 421. [3] A third was bought for the new Museo Pio Clementino, rebuilt by Popes Clement XIV and Pius VI (1769–1799).

once removed by permission of the late Pope Leo XIII, for the making of a cast and of one illustration. The restorations of the Vatican figure are the front of the nose, the throat, the right fore arm, most of the left arm, the support of the hydra, and most of the lower part of the legs. Helbig, 316; E. von Mach, pp. 276ff.; Robinson (supplement) 545a; Reinach II, 356, 8. For coins representing the statue see Overbeck II, p. 46, figs. 150–1.

PLATE 199a. The Same, with the Metal Garment, as she appears in the Vatican Museum.

The head of the statue is antique. "It cannot, however, belong to the same replica of the body," and has received a slightly inaccurate turn in the restoration of the neck. The statue is fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 276ff. The important points are:

1. The statue copies the work of Praxiteles which was the most famous in antiquity.

2. The finish is hard and preserves little of the delicacy of modelling, which was the chief charm of the original.

3. The drapery, ready to drop from the hand of the goddess, is especially poor. For a good piece of drapery see Plates 217 and 218.

4. The drapery serves as the "material" support of the statue, but originally did not appear to be a support at all.

5. The gesture of the right arm is unconscious, "and is prompted by no thought of any unauthorized beholder." Contrast this with the "Venus Medici," Plate 202.

6. The most beautiful replica of the head of this statue is in Berlin, see E. von Mach, Plates XXXIX, fig. 1 and XL, fig. 3.

It used to be believed that the nude figures of women in Greek art were an importation from the East, and that the best of the Greek genius revolted against them. The fallacy of this

view has been recently proved by S. Reinach.[1] Nude women were carved in Greece (see Plate 6) in very early times, while in the Orient they are importations and not native. It is to the credit of the best Greek sculptors that they refrained from carving nude women, (although the idea itself was not repugnant to their countrymen), until they had gained sufficient mastery over the problems that these motives entailed to enable them to create works of such beauty that even the fastidious modern taste cannot fail to admire them.

PLATE 199b. Aphrodite. Of marble. Slightly below life size. Glyptothek, Munich. Found, date unknown, near the ancient harbor, Fiumicino in Italy, later in the Braschi palace, and since 1811 in Munich. The head was broken, but is antique and belongs to the statue; only part of the hair in the back is restored. Other restorations: the right fore arm, the left arm below the bracelet (but the hand is antique except the fingers), the right lower leg and both feet. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 258; Reinach I, 331–5.

This statue is undoubtedly an adaptation of the Aphrodite of Knidos type, Plate 198. The artist, however, has made one important change, and one that has altered the whole appearance of the statue. Instead of dropping the garment on the vase, the goddess is pulling it towards her, as if anxious to hide herself from the gaze of an unwelcome visitor. This adds an element of self-consciousness, out of place with the Praxitelean motive, and not in keeping with the accurately copied forms of the body.

The reasons which induced the sculptor to make this change are easy to understand. He desired an immediate and more substantial material support for his figure. This brought the drapery closer to the side of the body of Aphrodite, and thus

[1] *Rev. Arch.* XXVI, 1895, pp. 367–394.

lessened the risk of erecting a heavy marble figure on two comparatively thin legs, of which one, moreover, bent in the knee, could be of little assistance. It also made the motive of dropping the drapery impossible, because this would have required its falling in vertical folds. The sculptor doubtless was further influenced in making the change by the difficulty of carving the drapery, which as support had an *upward* tendency, in a fashion that it appeared to be falling *down*.

The finish of the body of this statue is superior to any known copy of the Knidian goddess. The breast is, perhaps, carved with too much pronounced attention to the charms of a woman, but in all other respects this figure stands in strong contrast to the later Aphrodite statues, Plate 201, and especially Plate 202.

PLATE 200. Aphrodite. Bronze statuette. British Museum. London. Acquired from the Pourtalès collection in 1865. Restorations the feet and the left hand. Catalogue of the bronzes in the British Museum, No. 1084; Klein, *Praxiteles*, pp. 286ff., and figures 48–50; also *Praxitelische Studien*, frontispiece, and pp. 60ff.; Reinach II, 341, 4, and 343, 10. Compare also *Collection Auguste Dutuit*, Plate XVIII.

The graceful pose of this statuette and its exquisitely rhythmical disposition of masses has led Klein to identify it with an Aphrodite of Praxiteles. He calls her "Pselioumene," that is, "putting on a necklace"; others call her "Anadyomene," that is, "rising from the sea," a name which is little appropriate to this particular statuette, but seems to agree with other replicas, where the hair hangs loose and is held by the hands as if in the act of drying it. An interesting copy is the bronze in the collection of Mr. Auguste Dutuit, where the hair on the top of the head is fully dressed, while the side strands are playfully passed through the hands.

It is impossible to decide for which one of these motives

the type of this statuette was first designed. It is probably inspired by Praxiteles.

PLATE 201. Aphrodite, "Capitoline Venus." Of marble. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Probably identical with the statue found in the pontificate of Clement X (1670–1676) in Rome. Benedict XIV removed it to the Capitoline Museum in 1752. Helbig says that he, "is unable to trace the source of the statement, repeated in various handbooks, that the statue was found walled up, like a treasure." The remarkable state of preservation of the statue, however, — only the point of the nose and parts of the hands being restored, — argues in favor of the accuracy of the story. Helbig, 458; F. W., 1459; Reinach I, 333, 1 and 2.

PLATE 202. Aphrodite, "Venus dei Medici." Of marble. Below life-size. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Date and place of discovery unknown. Owned by the della Valle family before 1584, when it came into the possession of the Medici family. In 1677 it was taken to Florence. Restorations: point of the nose, the fingers of the left hand, fragments of the breast and of the thighs, and parts of the dolphin and the Erotes. The front of the base with the name of the sculptor Kleomenes is modern. Amelung, 67; F. W., 1460; Reinach I, 328, 4–6.

Both statues belong to a later period. They are, however, inspired by the work of Praxiteles, and are best appreciated when compared with the Knidian goddess, Plate 198.

The Capitoline Aphrodite has completed the action suggested by the Knidian. She has dropped her garment and stands entirely nude. Her delicacy, however, shrinks from this idea; and the element of self-consciousness is introduced, foreign to the work of Praxiteles. It causes slight changes in the attitude of the goddess and in the disposition of her arms, changes which are designed to set off to the best advantage the charms of her divine body. This body is the only claim she has on divinity; for, unlike the Knidian Aphrodite, she impresses one as supremely human. This may be largely due to

the realistic modelling of her body, suggestive throughout of a living model.

Deferring to the taste of a later age, possibly the third century before Christ, the simple hairdress of the Knidian Aphrodite has been replaced by a more picturesque design, and a fringe has been added to the shawl.

In the Medici Aphrodite even the shawl has disappeared. A dolphin has taken its place. No longer ready for a bath, this figure is thought of as Aphrodite risen from the sea. But even more than the Capitoline figure, this woman is a goddess only in name. The last vestige of delicately shrinking from the idea of being nude has gone, and the "Venus Medici" stands before one fully conscious of the charms which she reveals. She lacks the dignity and grandeur of the Knidian goddess, and the nobility and womanly delicacy of the Capitoline Aphrodite; but what she lacks ought not to blind one against what she possesses in the highest degree — physical charm.

She is the youngest of all known statues of Aphrodite, and she is small. Her physique is not built on the grand scale of the Knidian goddess, but her luxurious development is pronounced. Granting the artist the right of portraying the motive he has chosen, it is difficult to see how he could have created a lovelier figure. The head of the statue is treated with less care. It is only a copy. A better example of the same type, showing a closer connection with Praxiteles, is the Aphrodite head in the Petworth collection in England.[1]

PLATE 203. Aphrodite of Arles. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Discovered in 1651 in the ruins of the ancient theatre in Arles, pre-

[1] For pictures of the Petworth head see Amelung, figs. 9 and 10, facing page 47, after Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*.

sented in 1683 to Louis XIV, who placed her in the galleries of Versailles in 1685. She eventually was transferred to the Louvre. Restorations: the tip of the nose, part of the hair ribbon, the right arm, the left fore arm, both hands, numerous fragments of the drapery, and the big toe of the right foot. Fröhner, 137; Reinach I, 173, 5. Several replicas of the statue, although less well-preserved, are in existence. One is in the British Museum, another is in the Louvre. *Rev. Arch.* XL, 1902, Plate XII. See also *A. J. A.*, VII, 1903, p. 466.

Various restorations have been proposed for this statue. Some scholars make of her a "Venus Victrix," giving her the spear in her right hand, and a helmet to be carried in her left hand,[1] similar to the correct restoration of the Lemnian Athena, Plate 95. Others supply her with a mirror and believe that the right arm ought to be bent, so that the hand is arranging the hair. This latter view is more in keeping with the general idea expressed by the figure. Its calm grace, and also its absent-minded application to some unimportant occupation, agree with the tendencies of Praxiteles. The seductive ease of its rhythm is best appreciated when it is compared with statues like the Hera Barberini, Plate 105. The full garment, covering the lower part of the figure, is in strong contrast to the diminutive shawl shrouding the Aphrodite of Melos, Plates 291 and 292a.

PLATE 204. Aphrodite. Of marble. Museum, Syracuse. Discovered in 1804 in a garden in Syracuse. The little blocks on the breast served to support the right arm. F. W., 1469; Reinach I, 326, 7.

Decoratively, this is one of the most impressive Aphrodite statues, her drapery serving as an excellent foil to the beauty of her body. The surface finish is exquisite, and, in fact, far too delicate to be appreciated in a photograph.

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[1] She is thus portrayed, Reinach I, 173, 2.

It is interesting to compare this figure with the Capitoline and the Medici Aphrodite statues. Like them she owes her immediate origin to a later period, but is no doubt inspired by Praxiteles.

PLATE 205. Artemis. Statuette. Of marble. Museum, Vienna. Discovered in 1880 in Cyprus. Acquired for Vienna in 1884. When first discovered the end of the right arm, holding a torch, is said to have been extant. *Jahrbuch der Kunstrammlungen* V, 1885, Plates 1 and 2; *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1887, Part 1, pp. 332ff.; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1881, Plate XVII, 1; Reinach II, 318, 9. The little statue on which Artemis leans is said to be another type of the same goddess; compare the statue of Aphrodite, Reinach I, 341, 4. There is no marble on the island, so the statuette must be imported.

Furtwängler's attribution of this figure to Praxiteles seems convincing if understood to mean based on his style. The figure is far too weak to be an original by Praxiteles, or an immediate copy of one of his works. In general design, it reminds one of the "Marble Faun," Plate 195, without exhibiting the same graceful rhythm. It also resembles an inferior, painted statuette of Aphrodite from Pompeii,[1] both figures having in common the little idol on which they lean, and which is a copy of the archaic type of draped women, as it appeared in the majority of the Akropolis figures, Plates 25ff. A similar figure occurs in the Ildefonso group, Plate 324.

PLATE 206. Artemis-Tyche or Isis-Tyche. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Date and place of discovery unknown. Acquired for Munich in 1812 from the collection in the palace Braschi, from which also the Aphrodite, Plate 199b, was procured. The restorations were made by Thorwaldsen. They include the head and neck and practically both arms, with their attributes. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 227; Reinach I, 221, 3. Compare the statues of Artemis (No. 60) in Berlin, and of

[1] See Baumeister, Plate XLVII.

Isis with Harpokrates (No. 60a, *ibidem*, not mentioned in the official Berlin *Catalogue*).

The probably correctly[1] restored cornucopia designates this goddess as either Tyche or Isis. The attribute in her right hand ought to be either the rudder for Tyche or the snake for Isis. But whatever the name of this goddess is, the type of the statue was not invented for her, but for Artemis, as is clearly shown by the quiver strap, which the adaptation has retained as offering a pleasing motive, although it was out of place in statues of either Tyche or Isis. The original from which the type is taken is lost, but Furtwängler argues convincingly that it was by Praxiteles. The design of the drapery and the pose of the figure certainly do credit to that master.

Perhaps the most famous Artemis statue to-day is the Artemis of Versailles, Plate 296. Hers is a short garment, but probably only in appearance. One of the charms of a Greek dress is that it can be shortened at will by pulling it over a girdle. This girdle is often concealed under the bib.[2] With the bow in her right hand and her left hand reaching for an arrow from the quiver, the Praxitelean Artemis was practically ready to go hunting, like her sister from Versailles. All she needed to do was to add a shawl and to pull her garment over the girdle, which must be supposed to encircle her waist below the upper part of her dress.

The appearance of the original Artemis is retained in an inferior copy in Berlin, No. 60, while the changes that were necessary to approximate the Artemis of Versailles are clearly visible in another Berlin statue of Artemis, No. 63.

PLATE 207. Artemis of Gabii. Of marble. Louvre, Paris.

[1] See Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, p. 220. [2] For Greek garments see the discussion to Plate 76.

Found in 1792 in the ruins of Gabii, later in the Villa Borghese, and finally brought to Paris by Napoleon I. The head is antique, but was broken when the statue was found. Restorations: the nose, part of the left ear, the right hand, the left hand and part of the mantle which it holds, the left elbow, the lower left leg and foot, and the front half of the right foot. Fröhner, 97; Reinach I, 144, 2–4. See also *A. J. A.*, II, 1898, pp. 367ff., and Studniszka *Vermutungen z. Griechischen Kunstgeschichte*, p. 25.

The best description of this statue is given by Fröhner as follows:[1] "Nothing could be more graceful than her simple, easy pose, the attitude of a maiden goddess finishing her toilet. Her head, turned to the right, is carved with inimitable refinement. The delicate, half-parted lips recall the praises which the ancients lavishly bestowed on the statues of Artemis by Praxiteles.[2] With exquisite feeling the artist has enlivened his composition by well chosen bits of contrast. On one side one sees the rounded contours of the raised arm, the shoulder hidden by the drapery, the straight folds of the belted garment and the leg which supports the weight of the body. On the other side the shoulder is bare, the arm is pressed against the breast, the heavy folds of the cloak descend to below the knee, and the left leg is bent and set back. This subtlety of pose and movement, combined with the beautiful conception and perfect execution, make of the statue a work of supreme charm and dignity."

Little need be added to this eloquent description. Fröhner dated the statue in the time of Alexander the Great; modern scholars feel inclined to assign it more definitely to Praxiteles. The writer himself doubts the accuracy of this attribution. The grace and beauty of the statue seem to him too studied

[1] Translation from Fröhner, p. 121. [2] Compare Petronius, chapter 126.

in effect to be by Praxiteles. They compel attention, and this was not the way that master worked. Possibly they are due to the copyist or adapter. But whether by the master himself or by one of his disciples, the statue is one of the best that has come down to us from antiquity.

PLATE 208a. Maiden or Muse from Herculaneum. Of marble. Albertinum, Dresden. Accidentally discovered either in 1706 or in 1713 in Herculaneum. The discovery of this and of the following statue led to the more extensive excavations in Herculaneum thirty years later. Both statues were sold to Prince Eugene, who sold them in 1736 to King August of Saxony. There are practically no restorations. Reinach II, 665, 1 and I, 256, 4; F. W., 1688. For the hairdress compare the head of Kora in Munich, Springer I, p. 247, fig. 435.

PLATE 208b. Matron or Muse from Herculaneum. Of marble. Dresden. Traces of gold [1] were found in the hair of the statue. For discovery, etc., see note to Plate 208a. F. W., 1687; Reinach I, 449, 8. For similar statues see Reinach II, 670f.; Baumeister, p. 1088, figs. 1297–1299; *A. J. A.*, VI, 1902, p. 424, fig. 2, statue from Corinth.

These statues were at first named Vestals, then Muses,[2] then portrait statues, and lately again Muses.[3] The fact is that these particular statues are not original creations, but adaptations of a famous type, to judge by the numerous extant copies. In several instances portrait heads [4] have been added, which accounts for the identification of these figures, as mother and daughter. If this had been the artist's intention, he could

[1] Recently a replica was found in Delos, see *B. C. H.*, VII, 1895, Plate VII, which had retained numerous traces of color; red and gold on the sandal, blue and gold on the border of the garment, blue and violet in the folds, red in the hair. The hairdress is the same as is found on the relief of Nymphs in Vienna, Mitchell, p. 500, fig. 224. [2] Compare the Muses on Plates 211 and 212. [3] Salomon Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, 1900, Vol. 37, pp. 380ff. [4] See, for instance, the statue excavated in Olympia, Baumeister, p. 1088, fig. 1299.

not have chosen better types; for one statue is unmistakably the modest maiden and the other clearly the mature woman. Proportions and demeanor show this.

The general grace of both statues has led scholars to assign them to the Praxitelean cyclus. Recently, however, this view has been challenged and the type been claimed for Lysippos, who is called by Pausanias (I, 43, 6) the maker of Muses.[1] The lengthy proportions[2] of both figures, noticeable especially in the Maiden, are in keeping with the style of Lysippos. With this exception, and unless we have not yet reached a proper appreciation of his style, there is little in these statues to remind one of him. It must, however, be acknowledged that the same is true of the recently discovered statue of Hagias, Plate 234, which one would hesitate to attribute to Lysippos, if it could not be proved beyond a doubt that he made it. It is, therefore, wise to reserve judgment in the case of the Dresden statues and to wait for more conclusive proofs.

PLATE 209a. Three Graces (Charities). Of marble. Opera del Duomo, Siena. Discovered in Rome during the pontificate of Pius II (1458–1464), and presented by him to the cathedral library, but removed thence in 1857 by the desire of Pope Pius IX (1846–1878). From this group Raphael made his first studies from the antique, and his designs are preserved in Venice. Knackfuss-Zimmermann I, pp. 222f.; Reinach I, 346, 2. The head of one of the Muses, Plate 473b.

PLATE 209b. Boy and Girl, "Eros and Psyche." Of marble. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Found on the Aventine and added to the Capitoline collections in 1749 by Pope Benedict XIV. Restorations: On Eros, the nose, parts of the back of the head and of the neck, the right hand (but there were traces of three fingers on Psyche's cheek),

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[1] A recently discovered inscription on a large base in Megara reads, "Theramenes, son of Timoxenos, dedicated (the group), Lysippos made it." [2] See discussion of the style of Lysippos below.

the palm of the left hand and the left foot. On Psyche, the nose and practically the entire right hand. The plinth is modern. Helbig, 457; Reinach I, 361, 2. For Eros and Psyche on a sarcophagus in Clieveden see *J. H. S.*, XX, 1900, Plate XIb. For a classification of the many extant Eros and Psyche statues see E. Petersen, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1901, pp. 57–93; reviewed, *A. J. A.*, VI, 1902, p. 214.

Both these groups seem to owe their inspiration to the sunny atmosphere which pervades the work of Praxiteles. Eros and Psyche, as the second group is commonly called, are in reality a boy and a girl at play, he opening her mouth "in order to count her teeth or for some similar freak." Later adaptations of this group changed this motive; wings were added to these children, and they became gods. They were represented as kissing each other and the beautiful innocence of the playful pair was lost.

The design of both groups is wonderful, and the daring of conception of the three Graces admirable. If one would appreciate the "Eros and Psyche" group to the fullest extent, one ought to compare it with the first Greek group, Kitylos and Dermys, Plate 11a.

PLATES 210-212. Three Slabs from the Mantinean Base. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Found in Mantineia, in Arkadia, in 1887. E. von Mach, p. 27; Robinson, 520 A–C, with bibliography; to which add W. Amelung, translated by P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, XVII, 1897, pp. 120ff., on the arrangement of the slabs, retracting his (Gardner's) views expressed *ib.*, XVI, 1896, pp. 280ff.; S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, XXXIV, 1899, p. 309. Waldstein's theory, *A. J. A.*, First Series, VII, 1891, pp. 1ff. (accepted by Overbeck) is now recognized to be untenable. For the seated Apollo compare the relief from Ikaria, *A. J. A.*, First Series, V, Plate XI. For another base recently assigned to Praxiteles by O. Benndorf, see *A. J. A.*, IV, 1900, p. 348; F. W., 2147.

If we accept Amelung's arrangement of these three slabs we

must suppose that an additional slab has been lost. Two decorated the front of the base: Plate 210 and the lost relief; Plate 211 was on the left side turning the corner from the lost slab; and Plate 212 on the corresponding right side. This would give a base 2.70 m. long and 1.43 m. deep, sufficiently large to have supported the group of Leto and her two children by Praxiteles. Pausanias (VIII, 9, 1), who saw this group, mentioned the reliefs of the base, saying they represented the (or a) Muse and Marsyas playing a flute. Most scholars believe he said the Muses, but that the plural form was inadvertently changed in the manuscript to the singular. Whatever he said, he did not mention Apollo, Plate 210. This is not astonishing, for the long garment[1] of this god easily mislead the casual observer so that he saw in him another Muse.

The reliefs have been attributed to Praxiteles because he was the maker of the group that stood on the base which they decorated. This argument, however, is itself not convincing, while the carelessness of the execution, showing many mistakes in drawing, actually proves its fallacy. Notice the right leg of the seated Muse on Plate 212, and the left leg of the central figure on Plate 211.

The general design of the reliefs is remarkably graceful and on that account worthy of Praxiteles. It is, however, hardly better than many contemporary terra cottas. Professor Zimmermann has made this very clear by placing side by side (Knackfuss-Zimmermann I, figs. 141 and 142) pictures of one of the Mantineian slabs and of three Tanagra figures.

For the style of the reliefs it is interesting to note that they are not carved under the *horror vacui*[2] that had dominated

[1] See discussion to Plate 104a (Text Illustration 25). [2] For explanation and discussion of this term see E. von Mach, pp. 50 and 65.

most of the earlier creations: the figures are not crowded. Another valuable comparison is made between the Marsyas after Myron, Plate 65a, and him from Mantineia, Plate 210, who has lost the Myronic moderation without going to the extreme of the recoiling man on the frieze of the Maussolleion, Plate 229b.

Skopas and His School.

Skopas is the great contemporary of Praxiteles, with whose works his own used to be confused. The exact dates of both men are unknown, although it seems that Skopas was slightly the older, working in Tegea probably as early as soon after 396 B. C.[1] Until recently, however, so little was known of his style that it seemed more desirable to begin the study of fourth century Greek art with the works of Praxiteles. There were the fewer objections to this procedure, as the dates of these artists are purely conjectural beyond the fact that both men were active during the first half of the fourth century before Christ.

The works which are definitely associated with Skopas show the same perfection of execution as those of Praxiteles. Peace of mind, however, has given way in them to more passionate moods. The dreamy eyes of Praxiteles, reflecting a wealth of light, have become with Skopas deeply shadowed and of sinister purport.

It would be a mistake to believe that Skopas always worked thus. The fact is these are the only works which are surely his. In respect to others, we lack the very starting point of an æsthetic appreciation. The only absolutely certain works

[1] The temple of Athena Alea in Tegea was burned in 396 B. C. Skopas was engaged in the rebuilding of this temple.

of Skopas are the much worn heads from Tegea, Plate 469.[1] The heads, Plates 470 and 471, and the statues and reliefs grouped together on Plates 213–216 and 219 are attributed to him largely on the strength of the Tegea heads. The Ephesos drum, Plate 217, is spoken of in connection with him because he worked in Ephesos. Another often quoted argument, based on Pliny, 36, 95, is of extremely doubtful accuracy.

PLATE 213. Ares Ludovisi. Of marble. Museo delle Terme, formerly Museo Boncampagni-Ludovisi, Rome. Discovered, exact date unknown, but earlier than 1633, near the palace of Santa Croce, Rome. Restorations: On Ares, the nose; right hand, except the part touching the knee; several fingers of the left hand; the right foot, except the heel; and the greater part of the sword. On Eros, parts of both arms, the quiver, the bow, the right foot and part of the right leg. Points of attachment on the left side of the figure show that either another figure or some object was added there. Helbig, 883; F. W., 1268; Robinson, 524; Overbeck II, pp. 17f.; Reinach I, 515, 6 and 7; for a doubtful replica see Reinach II, 192, 6; for the torso in Naples Reinach II, 192, 5.

The proper interpretation of the Ares Ludovisi depends on the explanation of his pose. Figures hugging their knees are not frequent in sculpture.[2] They are, however, less exceptional in vase painting, and there it seems[3] the gesture implies impatience. Granting that it expresses the same in sculpture no motive would seem to be better adapted to the style of Skopas[4] than this — the fiery god of war restrained from action,

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[1] For the yield of the recent excavations in Tegea, nine fragments, among them a fine head of Herakles and a torso, probably Atalante of the East Pediment, see *B. C. H.*, XXV, 1901, pp. 241–281; reviewed, *A. J. A.*, VII, 1903, pp. 378f. [2] One other occurs on the East Frieze of the Parthenon. [3] See *Rev. Arch.*, XXXIII, 1898, figs. 5–7. [4] For a discussion on the style of Skopas, see E. von Mach, pp. 279ff., also p. 267.

not by physical inability but by thoughts conflicting with his natural temperament. What these thoughts were we do not know; possibly a figure, now lost, at his left, held the key to the interpretation. The little Eros at his feet, of dimensions unknown in the fourth century, is the addition of the copyist, but may correctly suggest[1] the motive for the god's impatient inactivity. Ares was in love. Aphrodite stood at his side. It is true that the points of attachment on the shoulder lend themselves not well to the supposition that Aphrodite was there represented. But in the original the Ludovisi Ares may have been part of a group of figures carved independently.

An Ares by Skopas stood in Roman times in a temple built by Junius Brutus Gallæcus (about 133 B. C.) Here Pliny saw it and mentioned it (*N. H.*, 36, 26). A copy of this statue scholars recognize in a relief from the arch of Constantine, Plate 346a, where the seated Ares has a spear in his right hand, and a Nike on his left hand, but does not hold up his knee. On this score Overbeck and others feel sure that the Ares Ludovisi does not reproduce the statue by Skopas. A closer observation, however, shows that the relief sculptor has taken decided liberties, avoiding everything that could result in difficult foreshortening. The only thing, therefore, that even in antiquity suggested the statue was probably its seated attitude. If this is granted, it may be assumed that Nike in the relief has been added in honor of the Emperor standing below. Far from serving, therefore, as an argument against the Skopadean origin of the Ludovisi figure, the Roman relief makes this origin more probable, for it indicates that the statue by Skopas was seated.

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[1] Copyists often added attributes not contained in the original in order to suggest the exact motive which they endeavored to copy. See the leather thong on the tree-trunk of the Boxer after Pythagoras, Plate 67.

There is only one consideration that may make one hesitate to claim the Ludovisi Ares as a copy after Skopas, and that is his dimensions. His limbs are certainly long compared with his body. Imagine Ares standing and his proportions are more like those of the Apoxyomenos after Lysippos, Plate 235, than those of the Meleager statues, Plates 214–216. This, however, is no sure indication of Lysippean origin, for it is readily seen that the artist had to make allowances to the peculiar position of his figure. On the Parthenon frieze the left leg of the god clasping his right knee does not reach to the floor. This is not unpleasantly noticed because of the lines of the goddess seated in front of him. In the Ludovisi Ares such a short leg would have been very disturbing. The artist might have lowered the seat or have drawn the leg farther back. In both cases he would have spoiled the beauty of his design. The only satisfactory solution [1] of the problem was the lengthening of the legs. To argue from this device that the statue is by Lysippos, who introduced long and slender limbs as a characteristic element of his statues, is straining the evidence. If the Ares has any connection with Lysippos, it may be that he served as a prototype to him. There is no evidence on this point, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the accidentally lengthened limbs of Ares may have suggested such proportions to the later sculptor. The Apoxyomenos would thus be inspired by the Ares, a theory which gains in probability owing to the correspondence that seems to exist between the heads of the two statues. A much better replica of the Ares head in Munich (Glyptothek, No. 272), shows an un-

[1] Such solutions of problems are frequent in Greek sculpture. They amount to deviations from proportions customarily employed by the sculptor. For instances of this kind see Plate 109, the legs; and Plate 453, the mouth.

mistakable affinity to the surely Skopadean heads, although it is, as Furtwängler correctly observes, not far removed from the type of Lysippos.

PLATE 214. Meleager. Of marble. Museum, Berlin. Discovered in 1838 near Santa Marinella, not far from Rome. Acquired for Berlin in 1841. Restorations: the head, the right arm and hand, several fingers of the left hand, the lower half of the right leg, the right foot, the left leg from below the knee, the plinth and the dog. Berlin, *Catalogue*, 215, with necessary bibliography. Reinach I, 484, 1.

PLATE 215. Meleager. Of marble. Fogg Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Discovered in 1895 near Santa Marinella, within one hundred yards of the place where, in 1838, the Berlin Meleager, Plate 214, was found. Purchased by Miss Forbes and deposited in Harvard in 1899. *Noticie degli Scavi*, 1895, p, 196; R. Norton, *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, June, 1900, pp. 485ff.; *A. J. A.*, IV, 1900, p. 275; E. von Mach, *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, pp. 29ff.; Reinach II, 555, 6. The measurements in inches of this little-known statue are as follows, the figures in brackets designating the corresponding measurements of the Hermes of Praxiteles: From the roots of the hair to the hair of the privy parts, 34 (34); navel to privy hair, 6¼ (7½); neck around the chin, 21 (21¾); around the neck under the chin, 18 (18); across the brow just above the ears, 25½ (27); root of hair over forehead to end of chin, 6 4-5 (7¼); around the waist, 37½ (41); greatest thickness, 9 (11).

PLATE 216. Meleager. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered, date unknown, probably in Rome. In the middle of the sixteenth century it belonged to the physician of Pope Paul III. Clement XIV (1769–1775) acquired it for the Vatican. The only restorations are the tip of the nose of Meleager and the ears of the dog. Helbig, 133; Robinson (Supplement), 522, E; Reinach I, 479, 2. The most important article on these statues is by B. Græf, *Röm. Mitth.*, IV, 1889, pp. 218ff. Their relation to Skopas is discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 279ff.

Of these three statues the Harvard Meleager takes the least satisfactory picture and, being unrestored, fails to reveal his

beauty. He is, moreover, little known and nothing has been published about him in detail to which the reader can be referred. It is therefore, advisable to give a full description of him.

He stands erect, resting the weight of his body on the right leg. The left leg was bent in the knee, with the left foot slightly in the rear. The right hand rested easily on the back, as is seen from a slight fracture where the hand was attached. The left hand held the light hunting-spear, the point of which is seen just below the armpit. The ancient hunting-spear was short and provided with two prongs. The preservation of one of these prongs in the Berlin Meleager materially aided in the identification of the statue. In the Harvard copy the prongs are broken away, but the place of attachment of one of them is still visible. This, together with the unmistakable spear-head preserved under the shoulder, disproves Norton's view that the hero was easily resting on "his inverted spear." The position is *not*, as Norton says, like the Hermes of Praxiteles, who divides the weight between his right leg and his left arm, resting on a tree-trunk. No one can rest his weight on a pointed spear, but if a person should nevertheless attempt to do so, the spear would have to touch the armpit, which is not the case in the Harvard statue. Meleager is supporting his entire weight solely on his right leg, which gives to the statue a decidedly more powerful rhythm than is seen in Hermes.

The head was broken, but has been restored. A minute examination of the fracture has proved that it belongs to the statue; it was carved of the same block with the torso. Looking in the direction of the free leg and with eyes full of eagerness and pleasant self-consciousness the hero is gazing into the distance.

Both arms are broken just below the shoulder. A fragment of the left arm to about half way between the shoulder and the

elbow was found, together with the statue, and has been attached. This fragment contains the pointed end of the spear. The body has been severely scratched and shows several round fractures, spoiling somewhat a close view, but too slight to mar the rhythm of the composition. The modelling is exquisite with the added charm of moderation. The back is not less excellent than the front. To run one's finger tips over the body, gives one the sense of touching actual epidermis and of feeling the blood course under the skin. The modelling of the left shoulder is especially sympathetic. As in nature, one can feel and see beneath the bolster of muscles and fat the shape of the shoulder blade itself. The legs are broken considerably above the knees, and of the several fragments which have been found none fits the fractures. Among the fragments is the left knee, which is of surpassing beauty. One forgets that it is of stone. It is the actual intricate structure of nature herself without exaggerations or omissions, a work of consummate skill and loving art. From the anatomy of this knee the position of the left leg can be definitely ascertained.

With all these excellent points of the statue, there are a few signs of carelessness in workmanship; for while the left cheek is beautifully modelled, the right cheek is cold, flat, and lifeless. It is badly corroded, but this alone cannot account for its inferiority; for the left shoulder, which is almost equally corroded, has preserved its magnificence. The poverty of modelling of the right cheek continues, though to a less degree, to the neck, and is painfully noticeable just below the chin. The only other place of poor modelling is on the lower front part of the left arm.

One is furthermore astonished at the use of the grooved drill to mark the partition line between the legs, both in front and in the back, where a regular little hole marks the starting point of the drill. When so much has been done to make the

statue life-like, this schematic way of treatment in places, which are clearly visible, is surprising. The same is true of the many supports or places where supports have been broken away. There are eight such supports,[1] partly on the torso itself, partly on those fragments which unmistakably belong to the statue.

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[1] The supports are: 1. The right hand was attached on the back. This place of attachment was so small that perhaps it ought not to be mentioned as a support. A comparison of it with the regular square block which, in the Vatican Meleager, forms the connection between the body and the hand makes one admire the skill of the artist.

2. Of the same nature is the indication of where the hook rested on the side.

3. Regular support, apparently between the left hip and the spear, 2¼ inches high, 1½ inches broad at the top and almost 2 inches at the bottom, smoothly finished only in front.

4. Fragment of similar support eight inches further down on the left leg, too badly fractured to allow one to draw any conculsions from it. It follows the same direction as No. 3. Both lie almost in the perpendicular of the continuation of the *back* of the spear head. The thin spear would need such double supports in this short distance, especially since it had to support the left arm and hand. This indicates that the Harvard statue ought not to be restored with a boar head as in the Vatican statue.

5. Support on the back of the left leg 2¼ inches broad, surface of attachment 1½ inches at the sides, 2 inches in the middle. Upper surface slanting downward. It seems to have connected the statue with some object which might have been introduced to support the heavy marble statue. What this object was we do not know. The support itself is too slight to have acted as main support, besides being unable to reach the ground in a curve — of which there is no indication — as in the Hermes of Andros, Plate 191, where the surface of attachment is much larger.

6. On the fragment of the lower left leg, just below the calf, there is a very powerful support 5¼ inches high and 3 inches thick, obviously connecting the two legs, smooth only in front.

These considerations make it clear that the statue cannot be an original by the hand of Skopas. It is, however, the best extant copy, and maintains its superiority also when it is compared with the beautiful Medici head [1] in Rome. In no other Skopadean head has so much skill been spent on the solution of technical problems and in no other is the result so singularly beautiful as in the Harvard Meleager. The eye is surrounded by deep shadows,[2] without itself being in the dark. This is done in three successive stages. First, the surroundings of the eye are built out: brow, cheek-bone, outer muscle and root of the nose. Secondly, the eyelid is thick. In the Hermes of Praxiteles it is so thin that the touch hardly reveals it. Thirdly, the edge of the eyelid does not rest on the eyeball, but is undercut by a groove. Every one of these three devices tends to increase the apparent depth of the eye, without, however, preventing the eyeball from catching and reflecting the light. The reflection, however, has to pass the three stages of shadows and thus creates a very different impression from that of the eyes of the Praxitelean figures.

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7. Directly opposite this there is a thinner, much smaller support, probably corresponding to 3 and 4, as supports for the spear, 2 inches wide, 1 inch long, but broken before it ends.

8. Likewise on the outer side of this leg there is another support, oblong, almost rectangular, 3¼ inches; 2¼ inches going back diagonally to the left, probably towards the same object, with which support No. 5 was connected.

On the other fragments there are additional indications of supports, but they are too fragmentary to allow of any conclusions to be drawn from them. The more important of these fragments are a part of a thigh, parts, possibly, of the spear and several objects of an indeterminable shape.

[1] The best accessible picture of this head is *Antike Denkmäler*, I, Plate XL, and a small reproduction of it in Tarbell, p. 217, fig. 146.

[2] Shadows on the photographic plate are intensified, so that the eye seems to be perfectly dark.

The mouth is carved similarly to the eyes. Behind the parted lips the teeth are seen, undercut from the lips and themselves undercut from the supposed opening of the mouth behind. It is the mystery of shadows that adds its charm to the Harvard head, and raises it far above the conventional head of the Vatican statue, and even of the excellent Medici head.

The Harvard and Berlin copies differ from the Vatican copy in that they have no drapery. The addition of the garment is an innovation, no doubt, of the copyist, who resorted to it, not from reasons of beauty but of expediency. It was difficult to pose the statue with no other support than the spear, and even when this was successfully done the statue was not very secure. Both the Berlin and the Harvard statues are badly broken. The sculptor of the Vatican Meleager added a drapery and twisted its lower end so that it might serve as a material support, together with the likewise newly introduced boar's head. This statue is less pleasant to look at, but is durable; it alone has come down through the ages practically intact.

PLATES 217 and 218. Sculptured Drum of a Column from Ephesos. Two views. Of marble. British Museum, London. Discovered in 1871, "deeply buried in the sand and marble chippings at the west end of the temple . . . turned completely over," (Wood, p. 189). J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesos; British Museum Catalogue*, 1206, with full bibliography and restorations, also ground plan of the temple, pp. 168 and 169; Robinson, 526; F. W., 1242. This column is from the temple, the rebuilding of which after a fire was begun not before 356 B. C. For a column of the earlier temple see Plate 45.

The connection of these figures with the style of Skopas rests on two arguments: First, Pliny (*N. H.*, 36, 95) says that the reliefs on one of the one hundred and twenty-seven

columns of the temple were made by Skopas;[1] secondly, the pathos of the scene represented, and especially the face of Hermes, agree with our knowledge of the style of Skopas. The second argument is the only valid one; for even if the reading of Pliny's manuscript is correct, which is open to doubts, it would be an almost incredible stroke of good luck that the only well-preserved drum discovered should be the one mentioned by Pliny out of more than five score.

The subject represented on this relief is still unidentified. C. Robert[2] suggests an incident from the myth of Alkestis. The winged figure, according to him, is Thanatos (Death) compelled to release Alkestis. Hermes stands on the left of the woman, ready to assist her to the upper world. The remaining figures of the relief, not seen in the picture, are the god and goddess of the lower world and Herakles.

The objections which have been advanced against Robert's interpretation are, in the first place, that it does not agree strictly enough with the transmitted myth; secondly, that the fragment identified as Herakles has a cloak slung around his left arm, similar to that of Hermes, which is impossible, it seems, for a figure of Herakles; and finally, that the action appears to be moving toward Thanatos rather than away from him. The first two objections are well taken, the second is open to doubts. The gesture of "Thanatos," for instance, of which Robinson says that it, "certainly does not suggest that he is resigning the woman to Hermes," may, nevertheless, be so interpreted. It is very similar to the gesture of Orpheus, Plate 179, after whose pose "Thanatos" is obviously modelled. The Orpheus gesture has its definite meaning; that of "Than-

[1] Pliny says, *una a Scopa*. E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1872, p. 72, suggests that this is a corruption of an original *imo scapo*, that is, "on the lowest drum." [2] In *Thanatos*, Berlin, 1879, p. 36.

atos" is meaningless. Only a person ill-versed in the customs of the Greeks can explain it as one of beckoning. The Greeks, both ancient and modern, beckon differently; they extend their arm with the hand palm downward and move the fingers toward their bodies. The gesture of "Thanatos," therefore, can only mean that he once stood as intimately close to the woman as Orpheus stands to Eurydike. This suggestion, perhaps out of place in the case of the spirit of Death, is nevertheless the one conveyed by the Ephesos relief, and can be interpreted only in one way, Death has released the woman — unless we actually refuse, on the strength of the gesture, to accept the interpretation of the winged figure as Death, which probably is the right course to follow.

This leaves the subject still unidentified, while it teaches at the same time that the relief cannot be by Skopas, for this master would surely not have been so meagre in resources that he was obliged to copy the Orpheus and Eurydike relief.

Nothing can better reveal the contrast between the spirit of the fifth century and that of the fourth century than a comparison of the two reliefs. Allowances, to be sure, must be made for the rounding surface of the later work, which forbade the intimate connection of the several figures. The elegance of the woman from Ephesos is as evident as the simple charm of Eurydike. The skill of the later artist is greater. In the folds of the drapery lightly held up in the hand of the woman, the seemingly impossible has been accomplished; the texture of the heavy marble has been changed to the texture of soft cloth. It is skill like this that made possible, for instance, the Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, Plate 198, ready to drop her garment on a vase; and it is its absence that accounts for the poor copies of the figure of Aphrodite in later times, the only ones extant to-day.

The winged figure reminds one of Praxitelean statues of

Eros. Its execution, however, is not good. Especially poor is its right foot, which the sculptor found impossible to place correctly at right angles with the background. He ought to have known that on a rounded surface this could not be done; for if the foot seemed to be right in front, it could not seem to be so either from the right or from the left.

The successful pose of Hermes, designated as such by his herald's staff, is best appreciated when he is compared with the youth on the relief in Boston, Plate 183.

The more one studies the Ephesos relief, the less one feels inclined to credit one of the great masters with its design and execution, but the more one admires the skill and the sense of what is beautiful and graceful even in men of lesser distinction, such as would probably have been employed in decorating the drums of the one hundred and twenty-seven columns of the temple of Artemis.

PLATE 219. Bacchic Relief. Of marble. Museum, Naples. For a very similar relief in the British Museum, see Robinson, 575; Mansell, photograph, 861. Compare also the Bacchic relief, Berlin Museum, *Catalogue*, No. 850.

The Mainad by Skopas, a very famous work of antiquity, was fully draped, so that the Mainad on this relief cannot be a direct copy of his work. But since the abandon with which the head is thrown back characterized also the statue of Skopas, this important detail of the relief may be his invention. The motive of the half open gown[1] also is not alien to the cycle of Skopadean works, for it occurs on the Maussolleion frieze, Plate 229a, with which Skopas had a more or less intimate connection.

[1] The best known instance of a statue in which this motive is employed is the Aphrodite Kallipyge in Naples, Reinach I, 328, 1–3.

The remaining two figures are inspired by statues of other men. The face of the satyr to the left on the London copy resembles that of the "Marble Faun," while his entire body suggests a statue not dissimilar to the so-called Narkissos, Plate 194. In the panther skins of both satyrs one sees a reminiscence of one of the Parthenon metopes, Plate 161a.

All this implies that the composition of the Naples relief is not the work of one of the great masters; an inference which becomes a certainty when one compares the Naples copy with the one in London, and looks in addition to the Berlin relief. This last relief suggests that there were originally more than three figures in the procession. Assuming this actually to have been the case, then the unpleasantly empty space between the two satyrs finds an explanation; the Mainad and one of the satyrs are out-dancing the rest. The London copyist has endeavored to improve on the design, and has drawn the three figures evenly grouped. A few still remaining empty spaces he has filled with the paws of the panther skins, which are, however, given more freely to the wind.

In modelling, both reliefs are about equal. The Mainad is better in Naples. Her feet are especially poor in London. The satyr to the left is better in London. Not only is his face more finished, but his "thyrsos" (staff) is better executed. In the original, doubtless, the staff was not perfectly straight. Such a straight line would have been awkward in close proximity to the body of the satyr with its frequent deviations from it. It is, however, as the London copy shows, perfectly possible to carve the thyrsos so that it conforms to the lines of the body, and yet appears to the casual glance to be straight. This nicety of design is completely lost in the Naples copy.

It would seem, therefore, that the London and the Naples reliefs are entirely independent copies of three figures, once

forming part of a more extended design, and possibly, in one case, inspired by the art of Skopas.

The Niobe Group.

PLATE 220. Niobe and Her Youngest Daughter. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Discovered in 1583 in Rome, exhibited first in the Villa Medici in Rome, since 1775 in Florence, and since 1795 in the hall which was especially built for the Niobe group. Restorations: On Niobe, the nose, the lower lip and part of the upper lip, the left forearm, and an adjacent piece of the drapery, the right hand and a small part of the arm, also minor parts of the drapery. On the daughter, the nose, the right arm, the left hand (the left arm was broken but is antique), the left foot. The head and neck of Niobe and both of her arms were carved of separate pieces. Amelung, 174; Reinach I, 313, 2.

PLATE 221. Niobid Chiaramonti. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered, exact date unknown, near Tivoli. Formerly in the Garden of the Quirinal. There are no restorations. Helbig, 73; F. W. 1261; Robinson, 512; Reinach I, 310, 5.

PLATE 222. Niobid. Of marble. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Copy of the same original which is reproduced in the statue in the Vatican, Plate 221. For place and date of discovery see the remarks to Plate 220. Restorations: the nose, the left hand and part of the left elbow, also both feet and bits of the drapery. The right arm and shoulder were broken, but have been put together of antique pieces. The head and bust were carved separately and inserted. Amelung, 184; Reinach I, 312, 4.

PLATE 223. Dead Niobid. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Date and place of discovery unknown. Once in the Casa Maffei in Rome. Acquired for Munich from the collection in the Palazzo Bevitaqua in Verona in 1811. Restorations: the right foot and the front part of the left foot, the fore finger of the left hand, the right hand and wrist, and practically the entire base, including the spear, which is an inappropriate addition. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 269; Reinach I, 315, 2. For the two replicas of the statue, the one in Florence, see Amelung, 185; Reinach I, 314, 5; and the one in Dresden, see Hettner, 196; Reinach I, 315, 3.

PLATE 224a. Niobid. Of marble. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 220. Restorations: part of the nose and lower lip, the left arm, the right lower arm, the right foot, the part of the garment extended by the right arm, and several minor details of the garment. Amelung, 182; Reinach I, 312, 3. The motive of the figure is understood from the fragment in the Vatican, Text Illustration, 41.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION, 41. Fragment of Group of Son and Daughter of Niobe. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. Restorations: the left fore finger and the left foot of the girl. The head of the girl is antique, but belongs to another statue. Helbig, 209; F. W., 1262; Reinach I, 480, 6.

PLATE 224b. Niobid. Of marble. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 220. Restorations: part of the nose, the lips, the right ear, parts of the neck, the right lower arm and parts of the garment. The head, the left arm and the adjacent part of the garment were broken, but are antique. Amelung, 181; Reinach I, 312, 2.

PLATE 225a. Tutor (Paidagogos) and Youngest Son of Niobe. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Found, date not published (or unknown?), in Soissons. Now in the Louvre. Restorations: the head of the tutor and various other parts. The arms are antique. Reinach I, 316, 3. For a replica in Florence of the boy alone see Amelung, 176; Reinach I, 314, 2; and for one in Rome, Helbig, 383; Reinach I, 376, 2.

PLATE 225b. Tutor of Niobe Group. Of marble. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 220. Restorations: the head, both arms, a piece of the calf of the right leg, the left heel and the rocky edge of the base. Amelung, 183; Reinach I, 314, 6.

Bibliography to the Niobe Group.

The bibliography to the Niobe group is large. It is collected in Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, Leipzig, 1863. Important additions since 1863 are collected in Overbeck II, p. 89, note 1. Still later additions are: Amelung, *Führer durch*

die Antiken von Florenz, pp. 115ff.; Klein, *Praxiteles*, the chapter on the Niobids; and E. von Mach, pp. 283ff. The best account of the unsolved problems in connection with the Niobe group is given in Overbeck II, pp. 78ff. For brief mentions of the group in ancient literature, see Pliny 36, 28, and *Anthologia Græca*, IV, 181, 298; or Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 1180 and 1284.

Even in Roman times the name of the maker of the Niobe group was forgotten. Only a tradition had survived, according to Pliny, to the effect that either Praxiteles or Skopas had made it, but nothing more definite was known. We are more familiar to-day with the styles of these two men than was Pliny; we are more critical; and yet we have not come any nearer than he to solving the problem of the origin of the Niobe group.

Three views prevail. First, the beauty of the design, the "loveliness" of the figures, indicate Praxiteles; second, the pathos of the occasion, the dignified bearing under agonizing conditions suggests Skopas; and third, there is nothing in the group distinctly characteristic of either artist beyond the family resemblance that must exist in works belonging to the same period, and if Pliny had not mentioned the names of these artists — which he did to cover his ignorance — we should not have thought of connecting the Niobe group with either. The pros and cons of all of these views are fully discussed in the bibliography given above. Suffice it to state that none can be definitely proved, and that the more conservative scholars have come to look upon the artist of the Niobe group as a man inspired by both Praxiteles and Skopas.

Equally impossible is it to agree on the original appearance of the group and the number of figures it contained. Niobe had seven sons and seven daughters, so that if the artist fol-

lowed the myth correctly, there ought to be at least fifteen figures in the group. The presence of the tutor adds one more, and suggests the possible presence of one or several others, namely, a nurse and attendants. This, together with the fact that several figures may have been doubled up, — Furtwängler, for instance, suggests a sister bending over the dead boy in Munich — makes it impossible to reconstruct the group. Only one thing seems to be sure; the action took place from the two corners toward the center, where Niobe stood, singled out by her gigantic size.

The original place where the group was erected is another point of contention. In Rome it stood at the time of Pliny in some connection with a temple. A pediment has, therefore, been suggested as its original[1] place. Against this view three facts may be strongly urged. First, bases of rocks are found in practically all the statues. Rocks, however, are out of place[2] in a pediment, and although occasional exceptions occur, it is hardly credible that the entire design should be built on such exceptions. Secondly, the extant figures are too numerous to fill the triangular space of any Greek temple without making Niobe in the center appear small in spite of her colossal size. And, finally, the group does not seem to belong to any temple. The only gods in whose sanctuaries the Niobe legend would offer a good subject for decoration are Leto and her children, Artemis and Apollo. These gods, however, slew the sons and daughters of Niobe and turned her into stone. A representation of this myth, in which the appeal to the spectator's pity for the victims is stronger than that to his veneration of the gods, as is the case in this group, is

[1] The extant figures cannot be originals. It is doubtful whether Pliny saw in Rome the originals or these copies, which were excavated in Rome and are now in Florence. [2] For the requirements of pedimental sculpture see E. von Mach, pp. 180ff.

obviously out of place in temples designed to do honor to these deities. More appropriate than the pediment might have been the court connected with the sanctuary, for it seems that the ancients were not always considerate of the feelings of their gods in respect to the statues which they erected in the outer precincts.

The idea of the group, many believe, was suggested by the performance of the Niobe legend as a tragedy in a Greek theatre. Sophokles wrote a lost tragedy called Niobe, where the scene was laid in Thebes, and the sons died in the gymnasium. The rock bases, however, speak against his tragedy as having suggested the extant group; and since we know that other Niobe tragedies were written later, it is believed the artist followed one of these. If the scene was laid in the mountains, the bases of rocks would at once find their explanation. It also has been urged that the original group was erected in a park. This, however, is merely a suggestion, which it is equally as impossible to prove as to disprove.

The group now in Florence is the only approximately complete group. Its figures, however, are by no means the best. The Niobid Chiaramonti, Plate 221, in Rome, is better than the replica in Florence, Plate 222; the dead son in Munich is far more beautifully modelled than the same figure in Florence; and the head of Niobe in Brocklesby Park,[1] England, is much superior to that of the Florentine statue. Another peculiarity of the Florence group is the fact that figures, once closely united, are carved separate, as, for instance, the tutor, Plate 225b, and the son, Plate 224a, which one ought to compare with the group in the Louvre, Plate 225a, and the fragment in the Vatican, Text Illustration 41. This latter fragment is especially interesting, for without its help it would have been

[1] For a picture see frontispiece in Knackfuss-Zimmerman, Vol. I.

difficult to explain the folds of the garment on the knee of the boy. They are held there by the arm of his sister, and without it are impossible.

A very telling comparison is made between the statues of the daughter, Plates 221 and 222. In view of the inferiority of the workmanship of the Florentine figure, Amelung suggests that in it we have the more accurate copy, while the Chiaramonti sister betokens the freer adaptation of the type at the hands of a better sculptor. This remark of Amelung opens a wide field of speculation, for he contrasts the finery of the garment of the figure in Florence with the almost fifth century grandeur of the figure in Rome. The earlier element in the Chiaramonti Niobid has been noted before, and the writer himself in his "Greek Sculpture, Its Spirit and Principles," has endeavored to enforce it by reproducing the statue on the same plate with those of "Nike," and "Iris" of the East Pediment of the Parthenon.[1] If Amelung is right, however, in believing that the Chiaramonti figure does not reproduce the appearance of the original, is it not perhaps more probable that the original Niobid herself was based on an earlier type, and that this type is preserved in the Chiaramonti figure, than that a later copyist should have been able to transform the Niobid, which is correctly copied in Florence, so that he struck the true note of an art unknown to him?

The wonderful pathos of the group, and withal, its moderation, are discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 283ff., where attention is also called to the fact that the artist has wisely refrained from representing the gods as visibly present; "the flying arrows are more unerring since we do not know whence they come."

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[1] E. von Mach, Plate XIX.

PLATE 226. Youth from Subiaco. Of marble. Terme, Rome. Found in the ruins of the Villa of Nero at Subiaco in 1884. Helbig, 1063; Reinach II, 419, 7. For various interpretations see de Rider, *Rev. Arch.*, XXXI, 1897, pp. 265ff. (he says the statue is a ball-player); Kalkmann, *Jahrbuch* X, 1895, pp. 46ff. (he says it is a runner); Körte, *Jahrbuch* XI, 1896, pp. 11ff. (he says it is Hylas in water); Kalkmann, *Jahrbuch* XI, 1896, pp. 197ff., defends his view expressed before; Petersen, *Jahrbuch* XI, 1896, pp. 202ff., sides with Körte, who denies that the base is suggestive of water (he says that the statue is a runner with a lasso and adduces pictures of corresponding figures).

This statue was first claimed as a Niobid, but owing to the differences in execution between it and the Niobids, and largely also because of the absence of drapery — all the Niobids have at least some garment against which the nude is relieved — this view has been abandoned without its having become possible to reach a universally satisfactory interpretation of the statue. Several suggestions are given above. Körte's view that the top of the base represents water is not so untenable as his opponents believe. Körte himself refers to the base of the Nile, Plate 278, and he might have added the waves on the base of Helios in the East Pediment of the Parthenon,[1] Plate 140a. His interpretation, however, of the statue as Hylas drawn into the water by the nymphs is not convincing.

Of the other two interpretations, that of a runner and that of a ball-player, the former seems to have more in its favor. When Kalkmann, however, sees in the figure a work of the middle of the fifth century, he is misled by the pose, which he explains as a last occurrence of the archaic mode of representing running as half kneeling.[2] If Kalkmann were correct,

[1] Waves are seen both on the side and on the top of the base between the arms of Helios.

[2] See the discussion to the Kneeling Spearman of Aigina, Plate 78.

the youth from Subiaco would be contemporaneous with the figures reproduced on Plates 122ff., and would copy a device that had gone out of use before the Aigina or Olympia figures were carved, Plates 78ff. and 84ff. This is impossible. The beautifully soft flesh of the Subiaco youth finds no parallel in the fifth century. He is unmistakably a product of the spirit of the fourth century. The action of the figure is full of energy and pregnant with the determination to succeed. This appears nowhere clearer than when it is contrasted with the hopeless and aimless rushing about of the Niobids.

PLATE 227. So-called Ilioneus. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Discovered, probably in the sixteenth century, in Rome. It changed hands frequently until it was bought in 1814 by crown prince Ludwig of Bavaria. There are no restorations. Thorwaldsen was asked to restore the statue but declined, and the restoration in plaster by Tenerani did not meet with approval. The holes in the arms and in the neck are not antique. They served for the attachment of a plaster head and plaster arms before the statue was acquired for Munich. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 270; Robinson, 501; Reinach I, 316, 5.

Ilioneus was the last of the sons of Niobe to die, pitied even by Apollo, so that his name seemed appropriate to the lovely and finely modelled statue of the kneeling boy in Munich as long as this boy was identified as a Niobid. The statue can, however, have no connection with the Niobids, for it has no drapery nor does its base [1] represent a rocky territory.

The statue is not an original,[2] but an unusually good copy, which has retained much of the wonderful grace and softness of flesh of the statue it reproduces. "The spirit of Praxiteles is in this body," says Furtwängler,[3] and adds, "Compare this

[1] The "Ilioneus" base is antique. [2] Furtwängler denies Robinson's assertion that the surface has been worn somewhat by polishing and cleaning. [3] *Catalogue*, No. 270, p. 270.

body with that of the Spinario (Plate 72) if you desire to realize the contrast which exists between the somewhat harsh endeavor of the older Greek art to be true, and the later craving for soft and delicate beauty."

The Sculptures of the Maussolleion.

Maussollos, satrap of Karia, sometimes called king, died in 353 B. C. Artemisia, his wife and sister, succeeded him on the throne, and spent the two years of her reign — she is said to have died in 351 of a broken heart, longing for her husband — erecting a tomb for Maussollos of such splendor that it has never been equaled. It attained great fame and the word "mausoleum[1]" to this day designates a fine sepulchral structure.

The architects were Satyros and Pythios, and the sculptors, according to Pliny,[2] Leochares, Timotheos, Bryaxis and Skopas. Vitruvius[3] mentions also Praxiteles, while he expresses his doubts as to Timotheos. Certain incongruities in the statements of both writers have led modern scholars to place little reliance on their lists of sculptors.

The final destruction of the building is due to the Christians. In 1402 the Knights of St. John took possession of Halikarnassos, the ancient capital of Karia. It is not known how well-preserved the monument then was, but an account of the year 1522 has come down to us. It was written by Knight de la Tourette of Lyons and reads in part as follows:[4] "The knights on their arrival began to seek for material for lime and found nothing more suitable and convenient than certain steps of white marble which rose up in the form of a platform in a field

[1] Mausoleum is the Latin spelling of Maussolleion. [2] Pliny, *N. H.*, 36, 30f.; *S. Q.*, 1177. [3] Vitruvius VII, 12; *S. Q.*, 1178. [4] Quoted from *British Museum Catalogue* II, p. 67.

near the harbour." The knights then proceeded to dig into the platform and the account continues: "After four or five days they found an opening into a large square chamber, elaborately adorned with an architectural order, coloured marbles and reliefs, all of which the finders admired and destroyed." (!)

In 1846 those slabs that were built into the castle were removed to England by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, then Sir Stratford Canning, while excavations on the site of the monument itself were begun in 1856 and continued in 1865. One slab, Plate 228, was acquired from Genoa in 1865, and three other fragments were added to the British Museum collection in 1876 and 1879.

For a detailed discussion of the architecture of the Maussolleion see the *British Museum Catalogue* II, pp. 70ff., and the many suggested restorations, pp. 76 and 77. One of them is reproduced as Text Illustration 40.

The fullest bibliography to the Maussolleion is also found in the *British Museum Catalogue*, pp. 65ff. The most convenient arrangement of the sculptures is in Overbeck II, pp. 98ff., and especially fig. 177.

The several sets of sculpture discovered from the Maussolleion are:

1. A frieze representing a battle between Greeks and Amazons. (Plates 228–230.)

2. A frieze representing a battle with the Centaurs. This frieze is poorly executed. (Not represented in this collection.)

3. A small frieze representing a continuous row of chariots. It is in part of excellent workmanship, Plate 231.

4. A set of panels, possibly the covering slabs of the coffers of the ceiling of the peristyle. (Not represented in this collection.)

5. Several lions. (Not represented in this collection.)

6. Fragments of a colossal four horse chariot. (Not represented in this collection.)

7. A colossal group of Maussollos and Artemisia, Plate 404.

8. Various fragments of statues. (Not represented in this collection.)

PLATE 228. Slab of the Large Frieze of the Maussolleion. British Museum, London. Formerly in the Villa di Negro at Genoa, to which place it was probably transported from Budrum by one of the knights of St. John, some time in the fifteenth century, and was purchased from the Marchese Serra in 1865. *British Museum Catalogue* II, p. 95, and No. 1022; Overbeck II, fig. 171, Series IV, Nos. 3 and 4.

PLATES 229a, 229b, 230a, and 230b. Four Slabs of the Large Frieze of the Maussolleion. British Museum, London. For date and circumstances of discovery see above, introductory remarks to the Maussolleion. *British Museum Catalogue*, 1014, 1015, 1006, 1020; Overbeck II, Series III, 3, 4, and 5, 6; Series IV, 1, 2; Series I, 1, 3.

No serious student of the large Maussolleion frieze fails to see great discrepancies in the several extant slabs. Plate 230b, for instance, impresses one as on a lower artistic plane than either slabs on Plate 229. It is, therefore, natural that one should endeavor to classify the entire series, and, if possible, distinguish in the several groups the styles of definite artists. Pliny[1] mentions four of them: Skopas for the east side, Leochares for the west, Bryaxis for the north, and Timotheos for the south. There were several friezes encircling the Maussolleion. It does not seem likely, therefore, that these four artists should have divided the work so that all the decorations on one side were made by one man. A much more rational distribution of labor would have called for the services of these men on separate friezes. There were, moreover, many statues

[1] Pliny, *N. H.*, 36, 30; *S. Q.*, 1177.

erected in and about the building, so that, if we prefer to believe that Pliny's statement is based on facts, we may assume that it has reference to these statues and not to the friezes. To look, therefore, for the styles of these several men in the slabs of the Amazon frieze is a mistake, especially since it is impossible to assign the slabs to their original sides, with the possible exception of the east side. All the slabs of Overbeck's group III (Plates 229a and 229b are samples of them) were found east of the Maussolleion. They are excellent, full of impetuosity, and of fine modelling; in short, they are worthy of Skopas. Overbeck's group I, however, of which Plate 230b is a sample, is so faulty in design that it would be difficult to see in it the work of any of the other three artists, all of whom were men of high reputation.

In view of these facts, the attempt to assign these slabs to different men must be given up,[1] although it is still possible to group them according to internal evidence in four separate classes. This has been done by Brunn[2] and elaborated by Overbeck (II, pp. 106ff.).

The first group (Plate 230b) is distinguished by many figures being shown in a back view, which is a device that adds interest to a composition, if it is used sparingly, as, for instance, on the Athena-Nike temple frieze, Plate 169, but which is monotonous if it begins to be the rule rather than the exception, and is augmented by other figures which are hidden from view by large shields. The group, moreover, contains several instances of extremely faulty drawing, a glaring in-

[1] A recent examination of the sides and the backs of the slabs in the British Museum has conclusively proved that Brunn's attribution of the slabs to the four different men is untenable.

[2] For the discussion of Brunn's four classes see the bibliography in Overbeck II, p. 111, Note 20. There are several dissenting voices, some accepting only three, others only two classes.

stance of which is the elongated left leg [1] of the fourth warrior from the left, Plate 230b, while several figures are drawn realistically accurate, but by no means beautiful in appearance. The lines of the man who collapses in the center of Plate 230b may be true to life, but offer no satisfactory motive for art.

The second group (not reproduced in these plates) is characterized by the singular garments worn by the Amazons, the oriental [2] long-sleeved chiton and trousers.

In the third group (Plate 229) the artist delights in the nude. Not only are all the Greeks completely nude, but also the Amazons are as little draped as possible. In the figure of the standing Amazon, Plate 229a, the drapery merely serves as foil to reveal the beauty of her body. The groups of fighters in this class are always confined to two, one Greek and one Amazon. The design is beautiful throughout and full of power.

The same high praise belongs to the slabs of the fourth group, Plates 228 and 230a, which is distinguished from those of the preceeding class only by the facts that the Greeks, in the majority of cases, are provided with garments, that there is no apparent desire to show much of the bodies of the Amazons, and that the groups are not all confined to only two participants.

The real pathos of a battle of men against beautiful women is here shown with simple straightforwardness, surpassed

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[1] The leg of the warrior was of course elongated in order to connect the Amazon behind him with the group to which he belonged. A similar instance occurs on the North Frieze of the Parthenon (E. von Mach, Plate XVI, Fig. 3, p. 230), where a figure is drawn entirely out of proportion for the sake of filling a gap.

[2] A similar garment is worn by the archer, sometimes called Paris, in the south corner of the West Pediment of the temple in Aigina, Text Illustration 13.

only by its strong appeal to one's emotions. Nothing could be more pathetic than the Amazon, Plate 228, succumbing not only in body, but also in spirit to the onslaught of the Greek. She has sunk on her knees, and raising her hand with a gesture of despair, she, the woman — no longer the warrior — is asking for mercy. The Greek does not relent, but for a moment he hesitates; he looks at the woman at his feet, while swift as the wind another Amazon is swooping down upon him, and the interested spectator, with breath abated, watches to see who will deal the first blow, the Greek to kill his victim, or the victim's cruel sister to teach the Greek that he who pities an Amazon or receives her supplications must die. The entire Amazon frieze is replete with such powerful scenes, but only the last two groups combine with remarkable vigor of thought an element of almost unexcelled beauty of execution.

From a technical point of view, the Maussolleion frieze illustrates a tendency almost diametrically opposed to that of earlier friezes, and especially the Parthenon frieze. Neither the fear of empty spaces, *horror vacui*, nor the desire of having all the heads on the same level, *isokephalism*, has been a factor in its design. The freedom of space granted to the most beautiful figures, and the variety of levels given to all the heads, add a special charm to the composition. Noticeable also is the lack of restraint, best illustrated by the recoiling Greek, Plate 229b. Myron once carved a figure recoiling before Athena, Plate 65. He only suggested the intensity of the movement; the Maussolleion sculptor actually carved it. That he succeeded is due to his wonderful gift of design. The lines of the Greek without his shield and without the less inclined Amazon in front of him would be not only not pleasing, but actually painful.

The points of excellence in the slabs of the last two groups

are so many and so subtle that they cannot be enumerated or explained. Thoughtful observation alone reveals them. There is in the best of these slabs not a detail that, if noticed, does not add both to the beauty of the design and to the vigor of the thought expressed.

PLATE 231. Charioteer from the Small Charioteer Frieze of the Maussolleion. British Museum, London. For date and place of discovery see introductory remarks to the sculptures of the Maussolleion. *British Museum Catalogue*, 1037, Plate XVIII.

This is the best preserved figure of the chariot frieze; beautiful in execution and imbued with passion. It is just the kind of a figure we should expect of Skopas or any of his followers. His pose is unlike that of the Parthenon frieze charioteers, who remind one more forcibly of the Charioteer of Delphi,[1] Plate 60; while he suggests a multitude of later charioteers on both marble reliefs and gems. A notable instance of which is found on the cuirass of Augustus, Plate 418.

The charioteer from the Maussolleion wears the long chiton which marks the man who takes part in a festival in honor of the gods. The folds of the garment suggest, what without them would have been impossible to express, the speed of his horses, while they at the same time, by means of contrast, reveal the perfect beauty of his face.

PLATE 232. Nude Charioteer, "Young Apollo." Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Date and place of discovery not given in the official publication. According to Klein, *Praxitelische Studien*, p. 1, note 1, who gives as his authority Arndt and a photograph taken when the statue was in the salesrooms of a dealer in Rome, the statue was *trovata nel Tevere*. Restorations: the plinth, with the tree-trunk,

[1] This is especially true of the charioteer on the North Frieze, slab XXIV.

which serves as a support for the figure; the left foot and ankle; the right foot and leg below the knee, and the tip of the nose (Robinson in Report of Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1897, pp. 18 and 19). Interesting comparisons are made between this statue and the athlete in Naples, Plate 289, and the boy in Berlin, Plate 274.

The striking resemblance in pose between this figure and the charioteer from the Maussolleion, Plate 231, has escaped both Klein and Robinson. The latter's interpretation of this youth as Apollo has been deservedly attacked by Klein. Robinson bases his sole argument on the resemblance of the head of this statue with some heads published by Overbeck.[1] The much closer correspondence of this head with that of Kore in Vienna,[2] which he correctly notes, ought to have restrained him from adding another to the long list of meaningless Apollos.

Klein sees in the statue an athlete, one preparing to jump. The broken supports on the legs of the statue indicate, he says, that they supported the wrists, and that the arms, therefore, hung down; the boy held dumb-bells or weights in his hands, which the ancients used in order to add impetus to the jump. Klein reaches this conclusion because he *assumes* that the supports are parallel. His assumption is wrong. They are not parallel, but diverge outward. They might well have made the connection with the sides of the rim of a chariot, provided the figure is correctly interpreted as a charioteer, — as in the light of Plate 231 it certainly seems to be. The same pose, the same forward inclination, the same half-open mouth and eager look. Shelley's words, which Gardner appropriately quotes in connection with the Charioteer from the Maussolleion, may be applied also to him: —

[1] Overbeck, Apollon, pp. 149ff. [2] Reproduced Klein, *Prax. Studien* figs. 5 and 7; cf. also Amelung Plate 1.

> Others with burning eyes lean forth and drink
> With eager lips the wind of their own speed,
> As if the thing they loved fled on before,
> And now, even now, they clasped it.

There is only one seemingly plausible objection to the interpretation of the Boston youth as a charioteer and that is that he is nude. Most charioteers known to-day are draped, for reasons which it is not difficult to understand. They were dedicatory statues representing events that had taken place in honor of the gods. At such occasions all persons wore the long chiton, unless the event was one in which clothes would have proved an impediment, as in the gymnastic games. Some monuments of nude charioteers, however, have become known recently, noticeably[1] the statue of a charioteer in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, discovered on the Esquiline in 1874. (Helbig, 597; Reinach II, 536, 6.) The objection to the interpretation of the Boston statue as charioteer based on the absence of the long chiton is, therefore, groundless. Similarly without foundation is the objection that the artificial hairdress suggested a calmer pastime than a race. The hairdress indicates the boy, as Klein[2] has correctly observed, comparing it with a number of artificially dressed heads of hair of playing boys. If this explanation seems insufficient, it may be asked, is this elaborate hairdress better adapted to a jumping athlete, as Klein would have it, or an Apollo preparing to run, as Robinson says, than to a boy racing his colts?

The execution of the statue is worse than the photograph reveals, it is decidedly mediocre. Only the left profile view is satisfactory, an additional reason to suppose that the resemblance to the charioteer from the Maussolleion is not accidental.

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[1] For other nude charioteers see Reinach II, 536, 1 and 7.

[2] *Praxitelische Studien*, p. 2.

PLATE 233. Ganymedes and the Eagle, after Leochares. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. Added to the Vatican collections by Pope Pius VI (1775–1798). Restorations: on the eagle, the head and the wings; on Ganymedes, the nose, the chin, the lower lips, the neck, the right forearm and the stick, nearly the whole left arm, and both legs from the knee downwards, except the left foot; on the dog, everything except the paws and the hindquarters. Helbig, 400; F. W., 1246; Robinson, 555; Reinach I, 192, 2. For similar statues see Reinach I, 185, 5 (London); I, 192, 7 (Vatican, Rome); I, 195, 3 (Madrid). For statues of Ganymedes and the eagle treated differently see Reinach I, 192, 6 (Naples), etc. For a mosaic from Sousa, Ganymedes borne down by the weight of the eagle, see *Rev. Arch.*, XXXI, 1897, Plates X and XII; and for a bronze relief that may have adorned a shield, see the description, *A. J. A.*, VII, 1893, p. 389.

Pliny,[1] speaking of Leochares, an artist of the second half of the fourth century before Christ, says: "He carved the eagle so that the bird seemed conscious of the prize he was snatching in Ganymedes and of the importance of the god to whom he was to bring him. Laying hold of the boy where the drapery lessened the sharpness of his talons, he was yet careful not to hurt him even by this gentle touch." This description fits the Vatican statue so well that there can be little doubt about the statue being a copy after Leochares. The original was of bronze, a material which permitted a far more daring pose than the marble sculptor could copy. The heavy tree, which in the copy seems a necessity, was probably dispensed with in the original.

Whether the dog was part of the bronze group is doubtful. Possibly the copyist introduced him as a suggestion of the disappearance of Ganymedes in the air, the weight of the marble preventing him from indicating this important fact in any other way.

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[1] *N. H.*, 34, 79; *S. Q.*, 1308.

This observation further suggests that the motive of the work of Leochares is not one that lends itself to corporeal representation. It is not a proper subject for sculpture. Sculptors at all times have endeavored to break through the bounds that limit the free exercise of their fancy, maintaining that there are no bounds provided they have the skill. They are mistaken. There are no bounds to their fancy, but there are limitations[1] to their modes of expression. Some subjects cannot be treated in sculpture, others are ill-adapted to painting, and some defy representation in either art.

Lysippos and his School.

The uncertainty of our knowledge of the styles of the ancient masters has recently again been demonstrated in the case of Lysippos. Starting with the singular proportions of the Apoxyomenos in the Vatican, Plate 235, scholars had begun to agree on the peculiarities of the style of Lysippos, to whom they assigned the Vatican statue, when the discovery of the Hagias statue in Delphi, threatened to overthrow many of their theories. This statue is an undoubted work by, or after, Lysippos, and must be reckoned with if we want to understand the master. In proportions it resembles statues identified with Skopas more closely than the Apoxyomenos. The suggestion, therefore, has been made[2] that the identification of the Apoxyomenos with Lysippos cannot stand. This is over-shooting the mark. Lysippos lived to be a very old man, and was perhaps the most prolific ancient sculptor. Is it not, therefore, credible that he, in his long career, did not confine himself to one set of proportions, but that he began with those known and used by his contemporaries, and only

[1] For a discussion of these limitations see E. von Mach, pp. 22 and 131ff. [2] P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, XXIII, 1903, pp. 117ff.

gradually evolved a distinct type of his own? If this is true, the discovery of the Hagias statue need not upset all former conclusions; it merely reveals Lysippos to have been even more versatile than was commonly believed.

The references to his art in ancient literature are numerous, and not always very lucid. According to the emphasis laid on the spirit or the letter of the reference, the completed picture of Lysippos is more or less that of a revolutionary innovator, or of a gifted interpreter of the spirit that had moved his predecessors. The latter view of him is taken in E. von Mach, pp. 290ff. Some of the most comprehensive accounts of him are found in Overbeck II, pp. 150ff., and notes, pp. 164ff., containing an important bibliography; and in Th. Homolle, *B. C. H.*, 1899, pp. 473ff. For statues of women recently assigned to Lysippos see Plates 208a and 208b.

PLATE 234. Hagias. Of marble. Museum, Delphi. Discovered in Delphi in 1894. Erich Preuner, *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk;* Th. Homolle, *B. C. H.*, 1899, pp. 446ff.; *Rev. Arch.*, 1900, p. 383; P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, XXIII, 1903, pp. 117ff.; Reinach II, 549, 11, (this picture represents the statue before the legs were found).

This statue was found in Delphi, together with several others.[1] Homolle at once recognized their fourth century origin. The freedom of pose seemed to correspond with that of the Apoxyomenos, Plate 235, while the proportions, if not exactly like those of that statue, were yet sufficiently similar to point in the same direction. A resemblance, on the other hand, with Praxitelean or Skopadean works, was also noted by Homolle. Together with the statues, fragments of a long inscription were found.

It was this inscription that enabled Erich Preuner to make

[1] *B. C. H.*, 1899, Plates IX and XII.

his startling discovery. The Hagias statue in Delphi is a marble copy of a bronze statue by Lysippos in Pharsalos, and, what is especially important, a copy made while Lysippos was alive, and, therefore, probably under his own supervision.

Preuner's arguments[1] are the acme of ingenuity, but absolutely convincing, and have been accepted as correct without a dissenting voice. It is impossible to summarize them, for they are built up of a multitude of details, the omission of any one of which would threaten the force of the whole argument.

The result of Preuner's discovery is that we now possess an undoubted work of Lysippos and shall, therefore, in future be better able to appreciate him.

Another valuable lesson is learned from this statue. It refers to marble copies made in the best Greek times. No clumsy marble support or tree-trunk mars the lines of the composition, only a very small piece of marble near the right foot strengthens this supporting member. How different from the heavy tree-trunk in the Apoxyomenos, Plate 235! How different from modern practices, where sculptors take it for granted that statues may be designed for marble, and executed in it, even if this is impossible without the addition of cumbersome supports!

PLATE 235. Apoxyomenos, after Lysippos. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Found in 1849 in the ruins of a private house in Trastevere, Rome. Restorations, by Tenerani: the fingers of the right hand and the die, the tip of the left thumb, parts of the strigil, and all the toes. The die does not belong to the figure; it is due to a misinterpretation of a passage in Pliny by Canina,[2] under whose instruction Tenerani worked, *N. H.*, 34, 55. Helbig, 31; F. W., 1264; Robinson, 523; E. von Mach,

[1] Preuner starts by restoring the Delphi inscriptions from two other fragments, one contained in the Diary of Stackelberg in Thessaly, the other published by Messrs. Pridik and Sanctis.

[2] F. W., 1264, p. 449, paragraph 2 of the notes.

pp. 295ff.; Reinach I, 515, 6 and 7, and II, 546, 2; P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, XXIII, 1903, pp. 117ff., denies the authorship of Lysippos on the strength of the recently discovered Hagias of Delphi. For a discussion of the proportions of the Apoxyomenos see Michælis, *J. H. S.*, II, 1885, pp. 355ff., and Plate XXXV, Metrological Relief at Oxford.

The statue represents a man scraping the sand and oil from his body. Greek athletes were in the habit of annointing themselves before the exercises with oil, and of sprinkling soft sand over it, which they, of course, removed when the games were over. Lysippos made a statue of a man "scraping himself" (Apoxyomenos), and the Vatican figure has been recognized as a copy of his work by means of its lengthy proportions; for it was a peculiarity of Lysippos, according to Pliny[1] to make the heads of his figures smaller and their bodies more slender and "dryer" than his predecessors, a device which made his figures *look* decidedly taller. How true this is of the Apoxyomenos is best seen when he is compared with the Doryphoros after Polykleitos, Plate 113.

The easy grace of the statue of Lysippos is appreciated even in the Roman copy, with its added tree-trunk and the cumbersome supports for the extended arm, the beginning of which is still seen over the right knee. Tenerani, who restored the statue, fortunately possessed enough skill to do without this support. He accomplished a difficult feat, the very difficulty of which accounts for the fact that there are no other replicas of the statue extant,[2] although the original was carried to Rome and was there one of the most famous statues.

The conclusions which it is possible to draw from this Apoxyomenos as to the style of Lysippos are fully discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 295ff.

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[1] *N. H.*, 34, 65. [2] The only possible exception is a torso in Athens, Reinach II, 819, 1.

PLATE 236. Herakles Farnese. Colossal statue of marble. Museum, Naples. Discovered in 1540 in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome. Since 1790 in Naples. Restorations: the tip of the nose, half of the left lower arm, the left hand, and the right hand[1] with the apples. F. W., 1265; Overbeck II, pp. 449ff.; Reinach I, 465, 1, 3. For the good replica in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, see Amelung, 40; Reinach I, 474, 1; and for the poor replica with the important antique inscription, "the work of Lysippos," in the Pitti Palace, Florence, Amelung, 186; Reinach II, 210, 5. For a coin with the name of Alexander, struck not later than 300 B. C., on which the type of the Herakles Farnese appears, see *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. III, 1883, Plate 1, 5; and for a colossal replica found together with the statue, Plate 290, on the bottom of the sea off Antikythera; *Ephemeris*, 1902, supplementary Plate B. 7.

That the type of this Herakles was invented by Lysippos is proved by two facts; the inscription[2] reading, "the work of Lysippos," on the replica in the Pitti Palace, Florence; and the picture of the statue on a coin with the name of Alexander struck not later than 300 B. C. The coin proves that the type of the Herakles Farnese belongs to the fourth century,[3] so that all the arguments formerly advanced against its being a work of Lysippos are groundless; for they were based on the assumption that the statue showed indications of a much later style. This, together with the ancient inscription on the Pitti Palace replica, appears to be an irrefutable argument.

Lysippos was especially fond of the variety of motives which the legend of Herakles offered. Herakles seated, Herakles

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[1] The right hand with the apples may possibly be antique, but this is very doubtful.

[2] The genuineness of the inscription has been doubted, but see Amelung, 186.

[3] It really proves only that the type cannot be *later* than the fourth century. But there is, of course, no doubt possible of its having been invented earlier.

standing, and Herakles performing his several labors,[1] — these are some of his statues which the ancient art critics did not weary of mentioning with commendation.

The motive of the Herakles Farnese is more complex. Overbeck[2] discusses it as follows: "The artist, it seems, endeavored to place before the people the whole tremendous laboriousness of the earthly career of Herakles. He represented a body, knit of the firmest fibre, and developed to its extreme by the gigantic toils which it had been his fate to perform. And yet this body, in spite of its extravagant strength, was seen overcome, even if not actually exhausted and weighed down, by the hardships of life. It was in need of rest and of support, both of which were vouchsafed to it in this world only at rare intervals and never for any length of time. The elements of the physique of this Herakles type are not new with Lysippos; they are the elements of hard, indestructible, but not agile force, the same that entered into the conception of the Olympia metope, Plate 92a. Lysippos, however, has interpreted them in his own peculiar way, and has mixed with them a modified canon of his own proportions.[3] The head of the Farnese Herakles is unduly small, while the legs are noticeably long in proportion to the trunk. This is probably a device by means of which the artist hoped to suggest that this ponderous mass of muscles could be put into fiery motion, swift as it had to be, for instance, in hunting down the stag. From the marble copy it is impossible to judge as to how successful this device was in the bronze original."

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[1] For a list of posssible copies of these groups see Overbeck II, p. 164, note 13. [2] Free translation of Overbeck II, pp. 449ff. [3] For the proportions of Lysippos see E. von Mach, pp. 295ff., and the discussion of Plate 235.

Theoretically speaking, no finer touch was possible than to suggest[1] to the spectator the tremendous activity of the body of Herakles by representing its superhuman power momentarily spent. This gave play to the imagination, and resulted in a much stronger picture of the might of Herakles than could actually be carved; for what people imagine always outstrips what is possible in reality.

The statue in Naples is inscribed with the name of Glykon, who was the maker of this particular copy. He has as little claim to the invention of the type of the statue as Antiochos has to the design of the Athena Parthenos, which he reproduced in the copy now in Rome, Plate 99b.

PLATE 237. Hermes Reposing. Of bronze. Museum, Naples. Discovered in 1758 in Herculaneum. Restorations: the entire rock, three of the four wings[2] on the feet, several fragments of the head, which was broken in several pieces. The right arm was broken off, but is antique. De Petra, *La Villa Ercolanense*, p. 268; Robinson, 525; Reinach I, 367, 1.

The wonderful power of Lysippos of portraying the human body in bronze so that it really seemed to be a living body and not only its portrait in cold metal, is well illustrated in his Hermes. The youthful messenger of the gods, lithe, active, and never tired, is sitting. Far from being exhausted, he gives signs of the ease with which he may resume his journey; and it needs not the wings to tell one that his journey is swift.

The grace of outline and the beautiful balance of masses are especially noticeable. The figure is the work of an artist of consummate skill and of great love for human bodies.

[1] For the principle of suggestion and its power in art see E. von Mach, pp. 128ff. and 244. [2] For similar wings see the Hermes Farnese, Plate 193.

Such a man was Lysippos. The proportions of Hermes also agree with the canon of Lysippos, so that there is good reason[1] to see in him the copy of a work by that master.

PLATE 238a. Hermes with the Sandal. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Discovered, probably about 1790, in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli. The statue changed hands often and was restored by the sculptor Franzoni by request of the third owner, Duke Braschi Oresti. The wrongly restored statue in the Louvre, Plate 238b, served as model. In 1809 King Maximilian I (1805–1825) bought the statue and in 1819 he deposited it in the Glyptothek. Restorations: the head, which is antique but belongs to a different statue; both arms and the left hand; the right leg and the drapery; the right foot except its center part; the left thigh; the sandal straps except fragments preserved with the right hand. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 287; Klein, *Praxitelische Studien*, pp. 4ff.; Reinach I, 487, 7. Klein's arguments are much weightier than Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, p. 294, note, acknowledges. The writer does not accept all the conclusions of Klein, but he cannot deny the force of Klein's argument, that the original type exists to-day in two separate sets of replicas.

PLATE 238b. Hermes with the Sandal, "Jason." Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Discovered in Rome, exact date unknown. Purchased by Louis XIV (1643–1715), deposited in Versailles 1769. Restorations: the tip of the nose, the lower lip, the chin, the back part of the head (the head itself, which was broken off, is antique, but probably does not belong to the statue), the left arm and shoulder, half of the right forearm and the right hand, the right leg almost to the ankle, a part of the drapery, two toes of the right foot and a part of the sandal strap. The left leg was broken, but has been put together with the help of five modern pieces. Small pieces are added all over the body. A ploughshare was added on the other side of the support of the foot to designate the statue as Cincinnatus. Fröhner, 183, with full bibliography on pp. 212 and 213. For later bibliography see Klein, *Praxitel-*

[1] No statue of Hermes by Lysippos, it is true, is recorded in ancient literature, but seated figures were well liked by Lysippos, as is shown by several such statues, which the ancient art critics mention.

ische Studien, p. 4, note 2. There is a similar statue in the Lansdowne House, London, Reinach I, 487, 6; and another, inverting the motive, in the Vatican, Reinach I, 487, 5. For a torso in Athens see Reinach II, 153, 10. For other replicas see Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 287, and Klein, *Praxitelische Studien*, pp. 4ff. A coin representing the type is reproduced in Fröhner, p. 211, where also the description of a statue of Hermes by Christodoros (*Ekphrasis* V, 297–302) is given.

That the restorations of these two figures, barring the heads, are generally correct may be conceded. The question, however, is, what was the original position of the arms? The well-preserved replica in the Lansdowne collection, London, has the right arm as here; the left arm, however, with the cape wrapped around it, is bent inward and rests on the right knee. The head is looking up. The design of the figure is pleasing, while its lines are more beautifully varied than those of the Munich and Paris copies with their present restorations and the many almost parallel lines of both arms and both legs. Hermes, so scholars say, is receiving the bidding of Zeus, even while preparing for his journey to fulfill it. At an especially important command he interrupts his preparations, eager not to lose one word of what the king of the god is saying.

All will agree with Furtwängler that the Munich figure would be more pleasing to look at if it were restored like the Lansdowne statue. It is, however, not a question of what is most pleasing, but of what is correct; and Klein argues forcefully that the left arm in the Munich figure cannot be restored other than it is. He reasons that, since the arm was lost but the shoulder was preserved, the arm could not have been bent inward from the shoulder across the breast; for in that case either the arm and the shoulder would have been lost, or part of the arm would have been preserved with the shoulder where it lies close to the breast, as is the case with the torso in Athens, Reinach II, 153, 10.[1] The accuracy of this observa-

[1] See also the Aphrodite of Melos, Plate 291.

tion is proved by many statues where either the one or the other of these alternatives has occurred. The counter argument, therefore, that a bent arm is more beautiful, carries no weight and must be withdrawn. This is especially necessary in view of the fact that an ancient coin reproduces a Hermes in just this attitude with both arms hanging down.

Since the Munich figure, therefore, extended both arms toward the right foot and the London and Athens statues bent the left arm across the breast, Klein argues that two versions of a common type are extant. The Munich and Paris copies he compares to a figure of the Parthenon West Frieze; the London and Athens figures to the Nike, Plate 170. He then assigns the one type to Lysippos, and the other type, with both arms hanging down, to an earlier master. His two types may be accepted without compelling one to believe that two different men are to be credited with them, for the motives are so similar that it is easy enough to assign both to one man, a man big enough to see defects in his own work and to correct them. Such a man was Lysippos and since the proportions of the figures agree with his reputed canon,[1] there can be no objection to attributing them to him.

The name of the statues is doubtful. Cincinnatus, called from the plough to be dictator in Rome, was the first suggestion. Winckelmann declared in favor of "Jason," who, in his hurry, had forgotten to put on both sandals. Recently the name Hermes has been suggested, which has documentary authority in the coin and in the passage from Christodoros mentioned above. Still others believe with Fröhner that the extant statues are ordinary athletes, although the type was invented for Hermes.

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[1] For the motive of the raised foot see the discussion to Plate 239.

PLATE 239. Poseidon. Of marble. Lateran Museum, Rome. Found in 1824 in Porto d'Anzio in the ruins of a building supposed to have been the public baths. Restorations: the left arm, the lower part of the right forearm, both legs from below the knees, the nose, fragments of the hair and beard, the vessel, the dolphin, both attributes, and the plinth. The restorations are based on better preserved copies of the same type, some of which are reproduced in Reinach II, 27; Helbig, 667; Reinach II, 27, 1, with restorations, and I, 428, 5, without restorations. For the motive of the raised foot see Lange, *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses*.

This statue represents the type of Poseidon, which became for subsequent ages the accepted type of this god. Lysippos designed it, as seems almost certain in view of Lange's investigations on the subject. The characteristic sign is the motive of the raised foot. This was, to be sure, no invention[1] of Lysippos, whose only merit was that he discovered its artistic usefulness. The mission of Lysippos was not, as is frequently asserted, to introduce new ideas — this was merely an incident in his great work — but to discern,[2] "more clearly than anyone before, the essential principles which had guided his predecessors."

The youth on the Parthenon frieze stands with his foot raised, because this position fits in the general design of the composition. Poseidon is similarly posed, because this attitude better than any other seemed to express his character. It is for this reason that his type survived. Lysippos made use of the same attitude for Alexander, Plate 399. There, however, it is merely a device to reveal the body to its best advantage; it has, therefore, been as little able to supplant other types as the Hermes, Plate 238, has become the uni-

[1] There are several figures with one foot raised on the West Frieze of the Parthenon. A similar motive occurs in the Nike slab, Plate 170. [2] See E. von Mach, pp. 290ff.

versal type of Hermes. The important question in respect to poses is, not are they very beautiful, but are they expressive of the personality portrayed?

PLATE 240a and b. Two Statues of Nike from Epidauros. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Found during the excavations in Epidauros 1881 and 1891. Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure;* Defrasse et Lechat, *Epidaure* (1895), with many plans and restorations. Reinach II, 379, 3 and 381, 5 and 6.

The excavations at Epidauros have brought a large number of sculptures to light, some of which may be identified, with a good deal of certainty, with Thrasymedes and Timotheos. They are the sculptures of the large temple of Asklepios. Less certainty exists in respect to the figures of Nike belonging to the smaller temple of Artemis. That they are of the same period cannot be doubted, and since the two known artists worked in Epidauros between 375–360 B. C., this is also the probable date of the Nike statues. If no date were known, their resemblance in conception to the Nike of Paionios, Plate 110, and in execution to the balustrade of the Athena-Nike temple, Plates 170 and 171, and Text Illustration 29, would seem to argue in favor of an earlier date. This serves to prove how impossible it is to argue as to the time that elapses between the date of an original and that of the later work which is based on it.

The Epidauros statues of Nike served, as is generally agreed, as akroteria for the corners of one side of the temple. A third Nike, slightly larger, may have decorated the point of the gable. Another Nike, of which only a large wing and portions of the upper half of the body are extant, probably had no connection[1] with the temple.

[1] A basis, still *in situ* in Epidauros, representing the prow of a ship,

PLATE 241a and b. Two Reliefs of Asklepios. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. From Epidauros. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 240. Gardner, p. 398.

There can be but little doubt that these reliefs reproduce the gold and ivory statue of Asklepios by Thrasymedes.[1] They are not accurate[2] copies, as indeed they could not be, considering they were reliefs, while the original was a statue in the round. Copied accurately on the flat surface, Asklepios would have failed to convey the same impression as his gold and ivory image,—probably he would not even have suggested it. Thrasymedes had fashioned him[3] seated, holding a staff in one hand and extending the other over a snake coiling itself up at his side. His dog was also represented. From the coin it appears that the god had one foot drawn back. The stiffness of the pose on the coin is out of keeping with the traditionally mild character of Asklepios, while both reliefs do justice to his kindness.

The important thing to note in the study of these reliefs is their design, in both cases well adapted to an execution in re-

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is claimed by Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, pp. 39 and 118, as the base of this Nike. The base contains an inscription datable in the fourth century before Christ, so that the motive of the Nike of Samothrace, Plates 202 and 203, would appear to be not an original invention for that statue. Overbeck (II, p. 129), however, advances weighty arguments against the connection of the prow-shaped base and the Nike in Epidauros.

[1] Thrasymedes used to be dated in the fifth century. An inscription from Epidauros, however, dating from between 375 and 360, speaks of Thrasymedes as working in gold and ivory on the gates of the temple.

[2] Notice especially the right shoulder, which in the relief is thrown back in order to give a view of the chest.

[3] According to Pausanias II, 27, 2, with whose description a coin agrees. See Overbeck II, p. 125, fig. 175.

lief. The artist has studied the statue he desired to reproduce, and then has expressed, in an entirely new design, his recollections of it and his own impressions.

The reliefs are independent, the one of the other, so that they differ in many details. The drapery of the relief, Plate 241b, is richer and is more picturesquely arranged around the body than the other. Around the legs, however, this second relief is superior to the first, owing to a different distribution of masses. The straight lines of the chair also differ considerably from the curving back and legs of the chair of the other relief. But with these exceptions, which a close study reveals, there is an unmistakable resemblance between the two reliefs. They suggest the same personality that was expressed in the original statue. It is this power of suggestion that makes of them works of art. The best art calls our attention not to the means employed, but to the thought expressed.

PLATE 242. Mounted Amazon. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. From Epidauros. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 240. Overbeck II, p. 126; Reinach II, 325, 6.

Beautiful in modelling and exquisite in design, this Amazon is worthy of the sculptor to whom she has been assigned, Timotheos, the co-worker of Skopas on the Maussolleion. According to inscriptions found in Epidauros, Timotheos was under contract to make and to supply the akroteria of one side of the temple for 2240 drachmai[1] and models[2] for other sculptures for 900 drachmai. This Amazon is believed to have come in under the second contract, while the Nereids, Plate 244, represent two of the akroteria.

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[1] The approximate value of a drachme is eighteen cents or a little less than a franc.

[2] The Greek word used here may also be translated "reliefs." The small price paid, however, makes it probable that models are meant.

As splendid a horsewoman as her sisters on the Maussolleion frieze (notice especially Plate 229b), this Amazon rises in her seat to deal her enemy the final blow. The horse is pulled in hard, and rearing, fills the moment with an element of pent up passion. How much his now lost head added to the intensity of the group is understood by looking at the horse, Plate 229b.

Unrestricted by any of the limitations of space that confined the heads of all the Parthenon horsemen to practically one level, this Amazon is built up rising in the air, her head higher than the head of the horse, and her hand, still higher, swinging her weapon. She might have filled the center of a pediment. At her feet we must assume her foe, so that the composition is not unlike that of the Dexileos monument, Plate 365, and yet how different it is, owing to the freedom permitted to the sculptor of figures in the round.

PLATE 243. Fragment of Mounted Amazon. Of marble. Museum, Boston. Date and place of discovery not published. Report of the trustees of the Museum (Robinson), 1903, p. 57, No. 5. Length of the horse, 0.91 m., which is considerably more than that of the horse, Plate 242.

The workmanship of this Amazon is such that it might be a work of either the fourth century, B. C., or of the last part of the fifth century. The remains of an arm and a hand on the left side of the horse's belly indicate that a fallen foe was there represented, similar to the one on the Dexileos monument, Plate 365, which was erected a few years anterior to 390 B. C. Properly restored this Amazon would be much like[1] the Amazon of Epidauros, Plate 242, which is an undoubted fourth century work.

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[1] Another interesting comparison is made with the fragment of a horseman from the Maussolleion, Reinach II, 527, 3.

Robinson concludes from the remains of the foe on the left side of the horse which means that the rider's action was directed towards the left, that neither the Boston nor the Epidauros Amazon can be copied the one from the other. This conclusion is not necessarily correct in view of the fact that both ancient copyists and modern forgers frequently invert the motive which they reproduce. An instance of this practice was mentioned above in the discussion of Plate 238.

PLATE 244. Two Statues of Mounted Nereids. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. From Epidauros. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 244; Reinach II, 410, 1 and 3.

These Nereids probably are two of the akroterion figures made by Timotheos for the temple of Asklepios in Epidauros, according to the inscription quoted in connection with Plate 242.

The animals are hippokampoi, as appears from their proportions, mythical beasts, used instead of horses by deities of the sea.[1] Their execution is less fine than that of the horse of the Amazon, Plate 242, which, on the strength of this fact, has been assigned to the pediment itself rather than to the akroterion above it.

The treatment of the draperies of both Nereids resembles that of the friezes from the Athena-Nike temple in Athens, Plate 169, and from the temple of Apollo near Phigaleia, Plates 172 and 173. This is especially true of the figure to the right, whose sharp folds over the breast and near the right leg appeal to one as reminiscences from Phigaleia.

Both Nereids were to be seen at a great height, which accounts for their seemingly uncertain seat. Seen on the level,

[1] Poseidon's chariot on the West Pediment of the Parthenon was perhaps drawn by hippokampoi; but see *Athen. Mitth.*, XVI, p. 73.

they appear to be slipping from the backs of their hippokampoi.

The representation of a motive not unlike that of these Nereids was attempted by a sculptor in very early Greek art in the Europa on the bull from Selinous, Text Illustration 7. The problems that had confronted the early sculptor, and had been solved by him rather inadequately, are still the same, but the Epidauros artists have shown their mastery over them to such an extent that they seem no longer to exist. The delicate touch of revealing the outlines of the body by means of heavy parallel folds of drapery, which adds a peculiar charm to the left Nereid, is the same that distinguishes one of the Asklepios reliefs, Plate 241a, from the other, Plate 241b. Attention ought also to be called to the right hand of the same Nereid, which, in a more natural way than is the case in the other figure, supplies a heavier mass of folds by gathering them in the lap. The undraped right breast carries a definite reminder of the Aphrodite after Alkamenes, Plate 108.

PLATE 245a. Silenos with Infant Dionysos. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Date and place of discovery unknown. Formerly in the Palazzo Gaetani, later in the Palazzo Ruspoli; acquired for Munich in Rome in 1812. Restorations: the head, which is an exact replica of the copy now in the Vatican, Plate 245b, but formerly also in the Palazzo Ruspoli; and so many fragments everywhere that "it is difficult to say what is old and what is new." Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 238; Reinach I, 375, 6.

PLATE 245b. Silenos with Infant Dionysos. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown; formerly in the Palazzo Ruspoli. Restorations: on Silenos, most of the leaves of the ivy wreath, all the fingers and probably the toes of both feet; on Dionysos, the left part of the head from below the left ear upwards, the nose, both arms, a portion of the left shoulder, the left leg, the left hip, and the right foot. Helbig, 4.

PLATE 245c. Silenos with the Infant Dionysos. Of marble.

Louvre, Paris. Discovered in Rome in the sixteenth century near the gardens of Sallust, which extended from Mount Quirinal to Mount Pincius; formerly in the Villa Borghese. Restorations: on Silenos, the end of the nose, several locks of the hair, both hands including the wrists, and several toes; on Dionysos, the nose, the chin, the arms and the legs, and parts of the back. The head of Silenos was broken off, but is antique. The base is partly modern and the tree-trunk almost entirely so. The tilt of the figure to the left is far too pronounced, as appears from a comparison with the other replicas, Plates 245a and 245b. Fröhner, 250; F. W., 1430; Robinson, 514; Reinach I, 169, 1–3.

Formerly, when Praxiteles was little known and people judged only from externals, these Silenos groups were added to the cycle of Praxiteles. This erroneous view, which Wolters already (F. W., 1430) had exposed, still lingers in some books. Says Robinson (514): "The attitude and the sentiment of the conception are suggestive of Praxiteles." Nothing could be less true. Dreamy absent-mindedness characterizes Praxiteles. His figures are never self-centered, never given to the enjoyment of the moment at hand, but always happily unconcerned about their surroundings. The only resemblance to Praxiteles that any one can see in this group is contained in the little Dionysos. But he who looks twice notices how different the use is that the artist has made of him. To Praxiteles, the child served as a foil to set off the day-dreams of Hermes; to the maker of this group, the child appealed as a pleasing motive for one definite half of his group. Silenos without Dionysos loses his very *raison d'être;* Hermes, Plate 190, remains unchanged, even if the child is taken away from him, save that his mood is not so readily understood. This difference [1] shows also in the grouping of the two figures. Praxiteles removed Dionysos to one side and treated him as an accessory; the

[1] Furtwängler also calls attention to the difference in the feet between Silenos and Praxitelean figures.

later[1] sculptor permitted the child's body to enter intimately into the masses of his main composition.

The pose of the Silenos is far from being like that of the Hermes of Praxiteles. It is much more like that of the Farnese Herakles, Plate 236, with the one exception that the support here reaches only to the elbow, while there it extends to the armpit. The Herakles Farnese has been brought in connection with Lysippos, and the same might be done with Silenos, owing to his elongated proportions, if it were not for the realistic treatment of several details. In the prominent abdomen of Silenos, and in the position of his feet,[2] one almost in front of the other, the artist has introduced touches that are true to life, but far from being artistically beautiful.

Several scholars have therefore been inclined to assign Silenos to a later period of Greek sculpture, believing that such realism was unknown to the artists of the fourth century before Christ. They are right only in so far as realism of this kind is not characteristic of that period. Exceptions, however, occur, some of them having been noted above in connection with the Maussolleion frieze, Plate 230b. To the best of our knowledge Lysippos never permitted himself to deviate thus far from the uniformly beautiful. The kinship of the Silenos with his work is, nevertheless, so close that the statue deserves a place — at least until the contrary is proved — in the fourth century.

Silenos, the old reveler of the Greeks, was not noted for paternal instincts, but when he looked into the smiling eyes of the child Dionysos, even he relented. Aurelius Nemesianus,

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[1] Only Klein, *Praxiteles*, pp. 395ff., speaks of an earlier sculptor, Kephisodotos. The impossibility of Klein's suggestion is self-evident.

[2] This fact is not well seen in photographs, except on Plate 245c. It is rather disturbing in the originals.

a late Latin writer, describes[1] the many liberties which he permitted his youthful charge to take with him, pulling his beard, or pinching his nose, or patting his head. And a group in Rome, according to Pliny (*N. H.*, 36, 29), represented Silenos soothing a crying child. In the extant groups, he holds the child lovingly and playfully in his arms. His charge is smiling back at him and extends one arm ready, no doubt, for another of his pranks to try the good nature of his old guardian.

The three statues in Munich, Rome and Paris are pretty accurate replicas of the same original. The restored tree-trunk and base of the Paris copy have given Silenos a too pronounced tilt to the left. With this exception, the pictures of the three statues taken from different points of view may serve as illustrations of three views of any one of them.

PLATE 246. Torso Belvedere. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown;[2] formerly in the Colonna family, added to the Belvedere gardens by Pope Clement VII (1523–1534). Helbig, 126; F. W., 1431; Robinson, 663; Sauer, *Der Torso Belvedere* (1894); Reinach I, 477, 1, 3.

Apollonios, son of Nestor, of Athens, whose name appears in the inscription on the rock of this torso, is generally considered to be the maker of this particular statue, and not the inventor of this conception. Sauer, however, and with him Overbeck (II, p. 447), differ from this view.

The intensity of the twist of the body, and the attention paid to the finish, "making of the torso flesh," as Dannecker,

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[1] Eclogues, X, 27–34, quoted in Fröhner, p. 265.

[2] The usual account that this statue was found in the Campo di Fiori, that is, in the precincts of the Theatre of Pompey, during the papacy of Julius II, is erroneous. Helbig, 126.

the sculptor, used to say, while the Laokoön, Plate 270, is marble, render a date for the original earlier than the age of Lysippos impossible. This has been universally recognized. Robinson alone says that, "its date may have been as early as the end of the fifth century." Probably a hasty comparison of the torso with the figures from the West Pediment of the Parthenon has misled him. The letters of the Apollonios inscription belong to about the first century before Christ, so that this would be the latest possible date of the torso.

The suggestions of restorations of the torso have been numerous. Visconti believed another figure, a woman, stood at his left; Heyne thought the figure was a copy of the Herakles Epitrapezios[1] by Lysippos; and Petersen suggested a Herakles playing the lyre. The impossibility of all three restorations has been demonstrated.[2] In respect to the last it is interesting to compare the torso with the seated "Anakreon," in Copenhagen, Plate 389. A more vigorous lyre-player is not readily imagined. But the action of the Belvedere torso is even more intense, so that it seems impracticable to restore it as Herakles with the lyre. As such, Herakles also ought to place his left leg back, instead of extending it, as is the case in the torso.

The most plausible restoration[3] is offered by Sauer in his book on the Torso Belvedere. He says that the figure, in the first place, is not Herakles, but Polyphemos; for the skin on the rock is not that of a lion, but of a panther. The Polyphemos of which Sauer speaks is not the Polyphemos of Homer, but he of the later poets, who was more civilized and was in love with the Nereid Galateia. Seated on a rock,

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[1] For seated statues of Herakles see Reinach I, 475, 5, and II, 229, 5; also *Rev. Arch.*, 35, 1899, p. 58, fig. 1. [2] See Overbeck II, pp. 431ff.
[3] For a picture see Overbeck II, p. 434.

with his club leaning against his left thigh,[1] the giant is waiting for his love. Thinking that she is approaching from his left, he turns in that direction, raising his left hand to shade his weak eye and at the same time reaching over with his right hand to hold his club.

It is, of course, impossible to affirm that Sauer's restoration is correct; all that it is possible to say is that it alone accounts for the action of the torso as we see it, and that no arguments have been advanced to disprove its accuracy.

Technically, the Belvedere torso is peculiar in that it shows no veins in spite of its apparent realism. Winckelmann, who wrote before the Parthenon sculptures and many other Greek works had become known, drew the conclusion from this fact that the Greek gods, to show their immortal state, had their bodies thus represented. From this remark the erroneous notion has spread that the Greeks never represented veins in their sculpture; a doctrine which is readily disproved by the observation of almost any original Greek statue or relief. Instances where veins are prominent are the Parthenon sculptures, the Boxer after Pythagoras, Plates 66 and 67, and the Stele of Alxenor, Plate 349a. The absence of veins on the Belvedere torso may be explained in several ways. One is that the torso was made at a time when accurate observation of nature had given way to academic representation of bodily forms; the other, that the veins were added, according to the custom[2] of the ancients, when the entire statue was painted.

PLATE 247. Demeter of Knidos. Of marble. British Museum, London. First observed by English travelers in 1812, found during the winter of 1857–1858 in the Temenos of Demeter in Knidos by Sir C. Newton. *British Museum Catalogue* with full bibliography; F. W., 1275; E. von Mach, pp. 282ff.; Reinach II, 245, 2.

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[1] There are places of attachment on the left side of the thigh.

[2] For the painting of statues see E. von Mach, pp. 67ff.

"There are in Knidos," says Pliny,[1] "other statues by first-rate sculptors . . . and there is no greater testimony to the Aphrodite of Praxiteles (see Plates 198 and 199) than the fact that among all these it is the only one thought worthy of mention."

This Demeter doubtless is one of the statues which Pliny had in mind. One of the most beautiful statues of antiquity, it is yet not mentioned in ancient literature.

Its state of preservation unfortunately is poor, owing to the poor material of which the body is wrought. Only the head and neck, which were made to be inserted, are carved of a fine piece of marble. The gracious dignity of Demeter, who, as the mother longing for her daughter, always appealed to the fine sentiment of the Greeks, is remarkably well portrayed. Her statue is inspired by the loving sunshine of the art of Praxiteles. If one would know the full extent of her fourth-century charm, one must compare the Knidian Demeter with her of the Eleusinian relief, Plate 178. Dignified and kind she is even there, but here she is an individual imbued with feelings that human beings can understand.

PLATE 248. "Flora Farnese." Colossal statue of marble. Museum, Naples. Discovered in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome during the papacy of Paul III (1534–1549), and taken to Naples toward the end of the eighteenth century. Restorations: the head, the lower arms and the feet. F. W., 1284; Reinach I, 212, 5.

The fourth century Greek origin of this statue seems so unmistakable, and its interpretation as Flora so natural that one is prone to search for the Greek equivalent of this decidedly Roman deity. Unfortunately, it has not been found. Several suggestions[2] have been made, none, however, to universal

[1] *N. H.*, 36, 22, translated, Stuart-Jones, p. 152. [2] See F. W., 1284.

satisfaction. Flora we may, therefore, continue to call this goddess, although we must remember that when the statue was designed this was not her name.

Some things are so superior that to enlarge on their beauty seems impertinent. The Farnese Flora belongs to this class. Her modern head and right hand unfortunately are not in keeping with the rest of the statue, but no one who has ever seen her can forget the wonderful impression that her benign advance made on him. Involuntarily one is reminded of Schiller's description of the mythical girl, perhaps Spring herself, who visited a tribe of poor herdsmen whenever the larks began to sing:

In einem Thal bei armen Hirten,
Erschien mit jedem neuen Jahr,
Sobald die ersten Lerchen schwirrten,
Ein Mädchen schön und wunderbar.

PLATE 249a. Demeter, Seated. Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen. Date and place of discovery unknown; formerly in the Palazzo Rondanini in Rome. Restorations: the head and right arm. Copenhagen, *Catalogue*, 184; Müller-Wieseler, 2, Plate VIII, 87; Reinach II, 245, 4.

This statue, the exact date of which is still open to doubt, is well studied by the side of the Demeter of Knidos, whose benignity and charm she unfortunately lacks. The drapery of the Knidian is of a different kind, and by its very arrangement reveals the individual. That of the Copenhagen Demeter is stereotyped. The undergarment reminds one of the standing figure, Plate 77, while the shawl is arranged in a way that since Pheidias made use of it for his colossal Zeus in Olympia has often been copied.

PLATE 249b. Kybele, Seated. Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen. Discovered, date unknown, in its place, it is sup-

posed, as temple image in Formiæ. Restorations: the nose, some of the hair by the right temple, and the fingers. Copenhagen, *Catalogue*, 274; Showerman, *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, Vol. I, No. 3.

The cult of Kybele, the great mother of the gods, was introduced in 204 B. C. in Rome from Greece and Asia Minor, where it had flourished long before. This particular statue has not the appearance of an original Greek work and was therefore undoubtedly made in Rome subsequent to 204 B. C. It copies probably an earlier Greek work, but whether this belongs to the fourth century or to the next century may be difficult to decide. The statue is placed here in order that a comparison between it and the statues of Demeter, Plates 247 and 249a, may enable one to study the several types of seated figures,[1] which in the best Greek times are not many.

PLATE 250. Nymph. Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen. Date and place of discovery not published. Copenhagen, *Catalogue*, 315.

The drapery of this statue is carved solely as a foil to the nude, just as it was with the Amazon from the Maussolleion frieze, Plate 229, and the Bacchante, Plate 219. The right leg of the figure is in a bad state of preservation; the upper part of the body, however, and the left leg and knee still show the loving care which the artist bestowed upon the nude. The lines of the drapery taken by themselves are far from beautiful. They appeal, however, by their fortuitous arrangement, which seems to place an individual before one. They are in this respect far removed from the dignified beauty that characterizes the "Nike" of the East Pediment of the Parthenon,

[1] Compare also the seated figures from the East Pediment of the Parthenon.

Plate 139, and partake of the spirit that permeates the Mausolleion frieze. It is for this reason that the figure has been placed here, although it cannot be denied that she also could have been carved in the next period. The name "nymph" is only a suggestion. She is thought of, together with her sisters, as accompanying Artemis through the woods. Plates 296 and 305 reproduce the type of Artemis that might have formed the center of this group.

PLATE 251. Psyche of Capua, so-called. Of marble. Museum, Naples. Discovered in the ruins of the amphitheater in Capua, together with the Aphrodite, Plate 293, in the middle of the eighteenth century. Restorations: the lower part of the nose. The entire figure has been polished in modern times to obtain a smooth surface. F. W., 1471; Robinson, 547; Reinach I, 357, 4.

Two small holes on the right shoulder have led people to believe that wings ought to be added to this figure, and to call her Psyche. The sad droop of the head and the melancholy expression of the face seemed to agree with this interpretation. More recently, however, it has been remarked that the figure seems to be too mature for Psyche, and that the holes on the shoulder could not have been used for the attachment of wings, for these would have left traces on the shoulder, which is not the case. All other names are only suggestions, Aphrodite being perhaps the most feasible of all.

The peculiar fracture of the head is explained by the practice of the ancients of piecing their sculptures. The additions on the top and the back of the head, being insecurely fastened, have been lost.[1] Another explanation is that the figure fitted into the architectural setting of the amphitheater, where it was found, and that the space required the mutila-

[1] For a similar instance see the Hermes in Boston, Plate 124.

tion of the head, which now is apparent but in its place would have passed unnoticed.

Judged as a piece of architectural decoration, this Psyche is perfect. Studied close at hand it is very disappointing. The body is indicated by graceful outlines, but there is no fine modelling anywhere. Psyche is marble and will never appear to be flesh and blood even to the most enthusiastic student. This, however, has not prevented people from ranking her with the masterpieces of Greek sculpture. People in this respect are like the makers of the first crude statues of "Apollo," unable to go beyond the perception of outlines. It took generations of thoughtful study before the Greek artists advanced to the appreciation of finer details. And so it takes much patient observation before the modern student of ancient art learns the reason why this Psyche, as he sees her to-day, cannot be the work of a master of the fourth century before Christ.

PLATE 252. Fragment of a Draped Woman. Of bronze. Museum, Berlin. Found in Kyzikos in 1882. Berlin, *Catalogue*, 3.

This is one of the few extant remains of original Greek bronzes[1] of draped figures. It repeats a motive which, with variations, occurs on the figures from Herculaneum, now in Dresden, Plate 208; and on the statue of Sophokles, now in the Lateran Museum, Plate 412. All these statues are probably copies of bronzes. By comparing them with the Berlin fragment, one readily sees how superior to marble bronze was for the reproduction of such motives.

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[1] A similar fragment was shown in a private view of the Museum in Boston two years ago. No information of its provenience was given, and the fragment has not been placed on exhibition.

PLATE 253. The Monument of Lysikrates in Athens. Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. I, Chapter IV, De Cou, *A. J. A.*, First Series, VIII, 1893, pp. 42ff.; for the reliefs see F. W., 1328; Robinson, 597ff.

In ancient Athens there was a street called the "Street of the Tripods," because it was the practice of the Athenians to erect here on columns or shrines tripods commemorating the victories in musical contests. The names inscribed on this monument are Lysikratas the victor,[1] and Euaintes, the archon. Euaintes was archon in 335–334 B. C., which, therefore, is the date of this monument. The monument is about thirty-four feet high.

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[1] Lysikrates had paid the expenses of the chorus that had won the prize.

Part Six.

The Hellenistic Period.

The Autumn Days of Greek Sculpture.

Alexander the Great had carried as far as India, together with his standards, also the knowledge of Greek civilization. He died in 323 B. C., succeeded in the several Asiatic and African principalities by his generals. Everywhere Greek ideas spread, and the wealth of monarchies was placed at their disposal. These ideas, however, were often as unlike the true Greek ideas of earlier centuries as the conditions were unlike those under which Greek art had formerly flourished. There was, moreover, an admixture of barbaric notions of sensuous pleasure that tended to alter completely the essence of art. Side by side with these manifestations, the old traditions were kept alive by some men, and every now and then works were created that would have called for the admiration even of Pheidias and Praxiteles. It was as it is to-day. Surrounded by statues whose inanity reflects the commercial instincts of the age, such works as French's "John Harvard," or Saint Gaudens' "Sherman," or Dallin's "Medicine Man" loom up like reminders of an age of thoughtful nobility.

Skill was the keynote then as it is now. Works were not undertaken unless they offered singular opportunities for its display. But it is very wrong to believe that every good statue

43. FUNERAL VASE.

showing more beauty than skill can give, beauty that is dependent on the nobility of conception, must for this reason be assigned to an earlier age than the Hellenistic Period.

There is in the best works of this period an element of ripeness and of self-sufficiency, a sense of confidence in contrast to the faith of earlier works, that has led the writer to coin the term, "Autumn Days of Greek Sculpture." For a more detailed discussion of this element see E. von Mach, pp. 299ff.

Of no other period of Greek art is there such lack of agreement as to its value as of this one. This is largely due to the fact that it is the longest of all, and that only very few artists are known to whom it might be possible to assign any of the extant monuments. The customary procedure has been to group in the Hellenistic age everything that is too poor to be of fourth century workmanship and too good to be Roman; Roman sculpture, as people used to think, being the worst of all ancient sculpture. The injustice of such procedure ought to be self-evident. The student ought to realize, in the first place, that some of the statues created in this period were in nobility of conception and in perfection of execution, second to none; secondly, that many works were imbued with a very distinct character[1] of their own by which they may be distinguished; and finally, that many artists, studying as they did assiduously the art of their predecessors, could not help working more or less according to the earlier styles.

This latter fact renders it especially difficult to bring order out of the chaos of statues commonly assigned to the Hellenistic Period. The plan followed here has been to group in this period, first those statues and reliefs which can be dated accurately as belonging to it; and secondly, those works for which no definite dates can be ascertained but which have so

[1] See E. von Mach, pp. 299ff.

habitually been assigned to this period that they are most readily looked for in this connection. Many statues, in consequence, are treated here in spite of the personal opinion of the writer that they owe their origin to the fourth century before Christ or to the Roman Period.

PLATE 254. Boy with Goose, probably after Boethos. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Date and place of discovery unknown; formerly in the Palazzo Braschi in Rome; purchased for Munich in 1812. Restorations: the tuft of hair over the forehead, the tip of the nose, the lower lip, part of the upper lip, and a few locks; also the head and the tips of the wings of the goose. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 268; F. W., 1586; Reinach I, 535, 5. For the replica in the Capitoline see Helbig, 518; Reinach I, 534, 1: for the replica in the Louvre, Robinson, 568; Reinach I, 148, 3: for the replica in the Vatican, Baumeister, p. 350, fig. 372;[1] Reinach I, 535, 9. There are many statues of boys with birds extant, although not of the same arrangement. One little-known group is in Stockholm, *Rev. Arch.*, 29, 1896, Plate X.[2] For a discussion of the several types of boys with geese see Ernest Gardner, *J. H. S.*, VI, pp. 1ff.

This statue is universally[3] assigned to Boëthos,[4] who made, according to Pliny (*N. H.*, 34, 84), a bronze group of a boy strangling a goose. Geese were familiar animals with the Greeks. Children played[5] with them as they now play with cats.

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[1] Robinson erroneously says that figure 372 in Baumeister is the replica in the Louvre. [2] This figure is especially interesting, because the treatment of the body and of the arms is not unlike that of the Spinario, Plate 72. [3] The only dissenting voice is Robinson (568), whose conclusions seem to be due to a misinterpretation of the article by Ernest Gardner. Gardner himself (*Handbook*, pp. 442f.) correctly attributes the statue to Boëthos. [4] For a discussion of the date of Boëthos see Helbig, 518. [5] Even the geese of Penelope, Homer Od., XIX, 536, seem to be kept more for the pleasure of Penelope than for any other purpose. For the place of geese in the Greek household see Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1863, p. 17, 51.

This little fellow has played with his goose and is determined to retain him, even against his will. Like a little Herakles, as Wolters says, he is struggling with his mighty opponent. So eager is he that, in the joyful exercise of his childish strength, he does not notice the discomfort he is giving to his comrade, whom he seems to be strangling. He laughs, and so does the spectator, moved by the amusing appearance of the goose and the merriment of the whole composition. The group is designed in the round, yet so that one point of view is the best, with all the lines arranged as they would be in a composition in relief.

PLATE 255. Fragment of Drapery by Damophon. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Discovered in Lykosoura in Arkadia in 1889. Together with this fragment, the heads, Plates 477, 489, 492, were found. Kavvadias, *Le Fouilles de Lykosoura;* Robinson, 738 D; Overbeck II, pp. 486ff. For the date of the temple see Dörpfeld, *Athen. Mitth.*, XV, 1890, p. 230, and XVIII, 1893, pp. 219ff. The most recent and exhaustive discussion of the art of Damaphon is by Daniel in *J. H. S.*, XXIV, 1904, pp. 41ff.

Dörpfeld has dated the ruins of the temple in which the statues of Damophon were erected in the second century before Christ. No remains of an earlier temple have been found, so that this would appear to be the date also of the statues. Pausanias[1] is the only ancient author who mentions Damophon, and from his writings it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions as to the century in which Damophon lived. From the style of the heads, Plates 477, 489, and 492, many scholars have come to look upon Damophon as closely allied to the great masters of the fourth century.[2] They are, there-

[1] Pausanias IV, 31; VII, 23; VIII, 31 and 37.

[2] A head in the Capitoline Museum, Helbig, 453, is variously assigned to Damophon or to pupils of Skopas.

fore, inclined to discredit Dörpfeld's investigation. It is, however, possible to harmonize Dörpfeld's date with the supposed style of the Lykosoura sculptures; for it is known that some artists of the Hellenistic age followed more closely than others in the footsteps of their predecessors. This was especially natural in the case of temple statues.

The richness of decoration of the remaining fragment of drapery [1] has proved a revelation. The embroidery,[2] which it is intended to represent, is not confined to the border, but spreads over the entire garment. No such splendor is known on any other temple image, not even on the Parthenos, Plates 96ff. But she is extant only in copies, while the Lykosoura fragment is a bit of the original. It may serve, therefore, not only as an indication of what Damophon was able to do, but also as a suggestion of what was probably done in the case of all important temple images.

PLATE 256. Statue of the Tyche of Antiocheia on the Orontes. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered, date unknown, outside the Porta S. Giovanni in Rome; formerly in the possession of the sculptor Cavaceppi, who restored the missing parts from Syrian coins. Restorations: the mural diadem, the parts of the drapery falling over the shoulders and back, the nose, the upper lip, and the right forearm; also the arms of the river god below. Helbig, 376; F. W., 1396; Reinach I, 450, 3. For a possible copy of the river God see Springer-Michaelis I, fig. 463.

Visconti and Müller were the first to identify this statue with the bronze statue of the Tyche of Antiocheia by Euty-

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[1] Compare also the drapery of Hermes, Plate 190.

[2] For the Nike with the incense on the drapery, compare the gem in Furtwängler's *Antike Gemmen*, III, p. 133, dating from the first half of the fourth century before Christ.

chides,[1] a pupil of Lysippos. This identification is now almost universally[2] accepted.

The beautiful location of the city is suggested in the statue. Nestling on the hills near the banks of the Orontes, Antiocheia enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most beautiful cities of antiquity. She was well fortified — the goddess wears a mural crown; she was rich in fertile lands — the goddess holds ears of corn in her right hand; and she was favored with a navigable river — the river god appears[3] from the rock at her feet.

The mildness of the goddess, which is apparent in the reduced copy, was in the colossal original probably made subservient to the impression of grandeur and dignity. The execution of the Vatican copy is not above the average. The design, however, is so beautiful that one may well reckon this figure among the best extant works of this period.

It is noteworthy that the ancients did not speak of this statue as Antiocheia, contrary to modern customs; the French, for instance, speaking of their famous statue in Paris as "Strassbourg." This observation has led to an interesting investigation by Percy Gardner[4] on *Countries and Cities in Ancient Art.* He finds that they were represented in three ways: first, by the persons of their guardian deities; secondly, by the persons of their founders or *heroes eponymoi*;[5] and

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[1] For a recently published inscription of Eutychides, see *B. C. H.*, 1894, pp. 336f.

[2] F. W., 1396, refers to doubts expressed by Michaelis. They have been withdrawn, see Springer-Michaelis I, pp. 261ff. and figure 464.

[3] He probably was represented as swimming. Cavaceppis' restoration of his arms is open to doubts. See, however, the swimming river gods on the base of the statue of the Tiber, Reinach I, 68, 1.

[4] *J. H. S.*, IX, pp. 47ff.

[5] "Eponymos" practically means "namesake."

finally, allegorically, similarly to the personification of the people of Hellas and Asia in the *Persai* of Aischylos (181f.), as women dressed in the respective garbs of their countries. The statue by Eutychides belonged to the first of these classes.

The School of Sculpture of Pergamon.[1]

Brunn was the first to assign the Dying Gaul and the Gaul and His Wife, Plates 257–259,[2] to the school of Pergamon. He published his discovery in 1857. Up to that date the very existence of this school had been forgotten. Then followed in quick succession the identification of the copies of statues which Attalos I of Pergamon (241–197 B. C.) had sent as a votive offering to Athens, Plates 262–264; and our knowledge of that school seemed to be based on a firm foundation. No one, however, could dream of the startling discoveries yet to be made.

Karl Humann had obtained, in 1873, possession of a few fragments of an ancient high relief from Pergamon. He at once recognized their value and secured permission to search for more. In 1878 the German excavations began, which lasted until 1886. The finds, Plates 267–268, were large and valuable beyond the most sanguine expectations. In 1898 the country was surveyed preparatory to the making of careful maps, and this led to renewed excavations,[3] which have not yet been concluded.

Practically all the works discovered in Pergamon belong to

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[1] Some ancient writers call the city Pergame, a few others Pergama, and the majority Pergamon.

[2] The subjects of these statues were properly recognized by Nibby in 1821, and Raoul-Rochette in 1830.

[3] For a report of the new excavations up to June, 1903, see *J. H. S.*, 1903, pp. 335ff.

the reign of Eumenes II, 197–159 before Christ; while all the works identified with Pergamon before the excavations began belong to the reign of his predecessor, Attalos I, 241–197 before Christ The art of Pergamon is, therefore, subdivided into two schools.

THE HISTORY OF PERGAMON. Pergamon makes its appearance in history late, but at once with great splendor. It was an unimportant town down to the third century before Christ, mentioned only as the entrance place to the country beyond. The summit of the hill, however, was fortified, and here Lysimachos, one of Alexander's successors, stored a great treasure. Philetairos had been left in charge of Pergamon, but revolted when the cruel reign of Lysimachos proved to be too provoking. He declared his independence and was able to maintain it. At his death in 263 he was succeeded by Eumenes I, the son of his brother, who reigned to 241. With Attalos I, 241–197, the real glory of Pergamon began, won with many hardships; for the Gauls, who, after their defeats in Rome and in Delphi, had turned to Asia Minor, menaced Pergamon until Attalos, in several successful battles, succeeded in transforming the fierce Gauls to the mild Galations, to whom St. Paul addressed his letters. Attalos thereupon called himself king, and caused many statues to be erected in honor of his victories. In 221, hard pressed by Antiochos III, he allied himself with Rome. This friendship with Rome continued throughout the reign of his successor, Eumenes II, 197–159, who extended his realm until it included almost the whole of Asia Minor. He enlarged his citadel, and spent much of his wealth in beautifying Pergamon. Attalos II, 159–138, continued an uneventful reign of splendor, and Attalos III, 138–133, willed his empire at his death to Rome — at least so the Romans chose to interpret his last will and testament. The Romans assumed active command in 129;

and Pergamon no doubt came in for its share of prosperity as long as the power of Rome lasted. With the reverses of Rome, Pergamon also declined and — at a date unknown — was abandoned. Eventually a new settlement grew up in the valley at the foot of the old citadel hill, which was frequently used as a fortress. The modern city is named Bergama, and has a mixed population of Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Jews, amounting to about twenty thousand inhabitants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The bibliography, including monographs, on Pergamon is very large. The large official German publication is, of course, the standard book. In addition, the Berlin museums have issued several pamphlets. An excellent account is given in Baumeister *s. v.* "Pergamon"; also *J. H. S.*, III, pp. 301ff.; IV, pp. 122ff.; VI, pp. 102ff.; VII, pp. 251ff. The arrangement of the large frieze from the Altar of Pergamon is discussed by H. Schrader, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1899, pp. 612–625, (reviewed, *A. J. A.*, IV, 1900, p. 342); and that of the Telephos frieze, by the same, *Jarhbuch* XV, 1900, pp. 97–135 (review, *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, p. 229), and by Carl Robert, *Jahrbuch* II, pp. 244ff., and III, pp. 45ff., 87ff.

For further bibliography see Overbeck II, pp. 288ff., and the remarks to Plates 257–269.

For some of the statues and heads that have been assigned to Pergamon on the strength of resemblances to undoubtedly Pergamon works, see L. R. Farnell, *J. H. S.*, XI, pp. 181–209; and Plate 269a.

For two of the recent discoveries, see Plate 308, and the head of a man, *Antike Denkmäler* II, Plate 48. For the Warrior from Delos, see Plate 287.

PLATES 257 and 258. Dying Gaul. Of marble. Capitoline, Rome. Discovered, exact place and date unknown, but probably in Rome in the sixteenth century; formerly in the Villa Ludovisi, but removed during the papacy of Clement XII (1730–1740) to the Capitoline. Restora-

tions: the tip of the nose, the left knee, all the toes, and the part of the plinth on which the right hand rests, including of course, the hand and a part of the horn. The right arm is antique. It was broken off and used to be considered a restoration. E. von Mach, 315ff.; Helbig, 533; F. W., 1412; Robinson, 654; Reinach I, 530, 2. Full bibliography in Helbig and F. W. For the theory that the statue is the Tubicen of Epigonos, mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.*, 34, 88), see *Jarhbuch* VIII, pp. 129–131. For the authoritative arguments against this theory, see *Röm. Mitth.*, VIII, 1894, p. 253. For the discussion of whether the Gaul dies of a self-inflicted wound or not, see Chr. Belger, *Jahrbuch* III, 1888, pp. 150ff., and Overbeck I, p. 251. For a torso in Dresden resembling the Dying Gaul, see Overbeck II, p. 257, fig. 196, and *B. C. H.*, 1889, p. 188.

The once popular name of "Dying Gladiator" for this statue has long since [1] been abandoned. In the first place, the statue undoubtedly belongs to Greek times, and the Greeks knew nothing of gladiators; and secondly, the figure is that of a Gaul as Gauls are described by ancient writers. Unlike the Greeks or the Romans, they wore moustaches, but shaved the rest of their faces. They annointed their hair until it became so thick it "was like the manes of horses," and they combed it back, which gave them the appearance of "satyrs or Pans." They also wore gold *torques* [2] or necklaces.

Such a type of barbarian is most admirably reproduced in the Capitoline statue, "not only in the face," says Helbig, "but also in the forms of the body. The massive extremities, the large bones, the coarse and unelastic skin are all instances of this."

The original of this statue was doubtless one of those which Attalos erected in honor of his victory over the fierce Gauls

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[1] Nibby in 1821 recognized the statue to be a Gaul. [2] Well known in antiquity, owing to the story connected with T. Manlius Torquatus.

who had infested Asia Minor. Lord Byron, misreading the character of this Gaul, wrote of him the famous lines, in which he said the Gaul "consents to death, but conquers agony." This sentiment is ill applied to the fierce nature of the barbarian, who unlike the Greeks, dies unwillingly, struggling[1] against death to the last.

Valuable comparisons are made between this statue and the Gaul, Plate 264a, and the fallen warrior from Aigina, Plate 79.

PLATE 259. Gaul and His Wife. Of marble. Terme, Rome; formerly Boncampagni-Ludovisi Collection. Date and place of discovery unknown. The group was known as early as 1632. Restorations: on the Gaul, the right arm and the greater part of the sword, the lower half of the nose, the left lower arm down to the wrist, the index finger of the left hand, the floating part of the drapery and the support; on the woman, the nose, almost the entire left arm, the lower part of the right forearm, with the hand, four toes on the right foot, and parts of the drapery. The group used to be called Pætus and Arria; it was identified as a Gaul and his wife by Raoul-Rochette in 1830. Helbig, 884; F. W., 1413; Robinson, 655; Overbeck II, pp. 250ff.; Reinach I, 498, 1.

Like the Dying Gaul, Plates 257f., this group has been recognized as belonging to the first school of Pergamon. It is the copy of one of the monuments which Attalos I (241–197 B. C.) erected in honor of his victories over the Gauls. The statues, therefore, were to represent the wild, un-Greek quality of the barbarians; and it must be granted that the artists have succeeded well. In this Gaul, who has just killed his wife, and who is pushing his sword into his own throat to escape slavery, one sees revealed at a glance the completeness of the victory of Attalos, a victory which is the more remarkable as it has been won over foes who shrink from nothing.

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[1] For a fuller discussion of this statue see E. von Mach, pp. 315ff. and 340.

Unlike the majority of Greek groups, the Gaul and his wife are designed as statues in the round, with no one view offering an advantage over the others, because this one view alone would show the lines and masses harmoniously distributed.[1] With its modern restorations, it is impossible to get a good view of the face of the Gaul and his wife at the same time. It has, therefore, been suggested that the right arm of the Gaul be restored differently, with the little finger instead of the thumb down. This changes the position of the elbow; it becomes possible to turn the group more to the right (from the spectator's point of view) and to get a better profile view of the face of the Gaul. The objection to such a change of the right arm lies in the fact that now the Gaul holds his sword as he did when he was fighting the enemy. Defeat has come swiftly; he has not had time to change his hold on the hilt of his sword before he has been driven to the extreme deed in order to avoid capture for his wife and for himself.

One other group is known in Greek art of a man in the shadow of death and a woman dying on his knee. It is one of the Niobids, Plate 224 and Text Illustration 41. The Niobid is represented as a Greek, with Greek thoughts and emotions; the Ludovisi statue is a barbarian. His very figure suggests the importance of the victory of Attalos, which meant the supremacy of the nobility of Greek ideas over the fierceness of barbarian passions.

PLATE 260. Scythian Slave Sharpening His Knife, "L'Arrotino." Of marble. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Found in Rome, exact date unknown, but earlier than 1583. Restorations: the forefinger of the right hand, the thumb and two fingers of the left hand, the tip of the nose and a few minor pieces. Amelung, 68; F. W., 1414; Reinach I, 286, 1–3.

[1] See the discussion to Plate 254.

PLATE 261. Marsyas and the Scythian Sharpening His Knife. Combination group of Marsyas, in the Louvre, and the Scythian, Plate 260.

The statue, Plate 260, represents the type of another race of barbarians, the Scythians. The forehead is receding, the cheek bones are high, and the expression of the face is in keeping with a low grade of civilization. The early school of Pergamon, to which the Gauls, Plates 257–259, belong, was the first to excel in the characterization of foreign people. The treatment of the body of the Scythian, accurate to nature, without refinement and without attention to anatomical details, is the same as that of the statues of the Gauls. By common consent, therefore, this figure is assigned to that school.

The upward glance of the slave suggests that he once formed part of a group; and it is believed that the other figure was Marsyas, who was to be flayed by the order of Apollo. These same figures are seen, together with the god, on the base from Mantineia, Plates 210–212, but there an earlier moment of the story is represented. Here Marsyas has lost in the musical contest and is on the point of receiving his punishment.

Several copies of a Marsyas hanging on the tree are extant.[1] None, however, are in the style of the Pergamon school, for all are full of anatomical details which the peculiar motive tempted the artists to introduce. The source of all, however, may have been the figure once grouped with the original[2] of the Scythian in Florence. Plate 261 shows one of the extant statues of Marsyas grouped with the Scythian.

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[1] See also Plate 337b. [2] The Scythian in Florence cannot have been the original part of a group. His base is profiled all around, a fact which clearly shows that this particular figure was meant to stand alone.

The Attalos Group.

The originals of the group which Attalos I (241–197 B. C.) sent[1] to Athens are lost. They represented the battles between the gods and the giants, the Greeks and the Amazons, the Greeks and the Persians, and his own exploits against the Gauls. They were small, their size being only about three feet, and were probably of bronze. Reproductions of a few of the figures are extant. The majority are in the Museum in Naples; and it is a notable fact that only copies of the defeated antagonists and none of the victors[2] are preserved. Plate 263 is a giant of the Gigantomachia, Plate 262 an Amazon of the fight of the Greeks and the Amazons, Plate 264b a Persian, and Plate 264a a Gaul.

For a complete list of all the extant figures see Brunn, *Annali*, 1870, pp. 292ff.; Overbeck II, fig. 189, containing twelve pictures; and Michaelis, *Jahrbuch* VIII, 1903, pp. 119ff.

PLATE 262. Dead Amazon. Of marble. Museum, Naples. Discovered in Rome in 1514 in the cellar of a convent. It passed from the possession of the Medici family to the Farnese family in 1538, and eventually, with the Farnese collection, to the Museum in Naples. Restorations: the left foot. E. von Mach, 316ff.; Robinson, 670; Reinach I, 482, 2; Michaelis, *Jahrbuch* VIII, 1893, pp, 119ff., especially p. 122, reproducing the picture of the Amazon, made about 1540. There was then a baby[3] grouped with the Amazon. This baby,

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[1] See Pausanias I, 25, 2, and *Plut. Anton.*, 60, or *S. Q.*, 1995 and 1996.

[2] The inference that only the defeated people were represented in the group is contradicted, in that one of the gods, Dionysos, is mentioned in ancient literature.

[3] The customary version of the Amazon myth in Asia was that they were also mothers.

Michaelis believed, was antique and subsequently removed. Petersen, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1893, pp. 251ff., takes the opposite view; the baby was a modern addition, which later, when recognized as such, was removed. Overbeck and Klügmann (see Overbeck II, p. 289, note 20) agree with Petersen. For the motive, compare Virgil, *Æneid* XI, 803 and 804.

PLATE 263. Dead Giant. Of marble. Museum, Naples. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 262. Restorations: half of left lower leg, the fingers of the right hand and the nose.

PLATE 264a. Dying Gaul. Of marble. Museum, Naples. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 262. Restorations: the left arm, several fingers of the right hand, the right foot and the toes of the left foot. Robinson, 669; Reinach I, 523, 3.

PLATE 264b. Dead Persian.[1] Of marble. Museum, Naples. For date and place of discovery see the remarks to Plate 262. Restorations: both arms, the right leg from the knee down, and part of the sword. Robinson, 669; Reinach I, 531, 3.

With a singularly keen touch the four types here reproduced are characterized. Beautiful even in death is the Amazon. Her repose is peaceful, "such[2] as the Greeks desired for themselves and those they liked." And they always liked the Amazons, although they often carved their mythical fight with them; for if they had not loved them so well, they would not have represented them so beautiful as they did everywhere, notably on the Maussolleion frieze, Plates 228–230.

The giant, Plate 263, in spite of his reduced size, reveals not only his own powerful strength and unbridled passion, but also the power of the gods, before whom he could not survive.

The Gaul, Plate 264a, is perhaps the least satisfactory of all these figures. This is partly due to the fact that one cannot

[1] For the head of a dead Persian belonging to a much larger statue, but of the same general style, see Springer-Michaelis I, fig. 497; Helbig, 1025. [2] Quoted from E. von Mach, p. 317.

help comparing him with the Dying Gaul, Plate 257. He represents practically the same motive as the larger statue, but with less vigor. He is not so distinctly the fierce barbarian; for a sense of humility and submission seems to be conveyed by his helpless attitude.

The Persian, Plate 264b, is dead. Clad in his national costume with long trousers, which the Greeks always considered to be the sign of the weakling, he has selected for himself, even in the hour of death, a comfortable position. He lies gracefully, but no Greek ever would desire to die like him. The contrast between him and the Amazon, Plate 262, is the greater, as hers is undoubtedly the more manly way of meeting death.

PLATE 265. The Altar of Pergamon. Reconstruction in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. For date of discovery and bibliography see above introduction to the Art of Pergamon. For mention of the altar in ancient literature see Stuart-Jones, No. 264, and *Revelation of St. John*, Chapter 2, Verses 12 and 13. A picture of the altar is on a coin struck in Pergamon between 193 and 211 of our era; see *Arch. Anz.*, 1902, p. 12, fig. 1. For another view of the reconstructed altar see E. von Mach, Plate facing p. 314. The large outside frieze, visible on Plate 265, represents the Gigantomachia, fight between the gods and the giants. Plates 266 and 267 reproduce four slabs from it. Inside the colonnade there is another smaller frieze with representations of the legend of Telephos. This frieze is less well-preserved.

PLATES 266 and 267. Four Slabs of the Large Frieze of the Pergamon Altar. Of marble. Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

PLATES 268a and 268b. Dionysos and Selene from the Large Frieze of the Pergamon Altar. Of marble. Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

The first impression of the reliefs in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin is overpowering and oppressive, because it is impossible to step back to the distance for which the reliefs were

designed. Placed on the hill in Pergamon, the altar was visible from far off, so that the reliefs had to be powerful if they were to be recognized at once as decorations.

The next observation is that the artists have shown remarkable skill in combining the several groups into one continuous and harmonious whole, without lessening in the least the unity of the several compositions. The subject of the Gigantomachia is an old one. It is found, among others, on the treasury of the Megarians in Olympia, Plate 46, on the metopes from Selinus, Text Illustrations 8 and 9, and on the east metopes of the Parthenon. It occurs again later on the frieze of the temple of Hera at Lagina (two hours northeast of Stratonike), which dates probably from the time of Sulla.[1] There, however, the subjects have been separated into individual groups.[2]

In studying the several scenes of the fighting gods and giants on the Pergamon Altar, many well-known figures appear. Athena, Plate 266b, reproduces the type of Athena of the Madrid relief, Text Illustration 30; and Apollo, Plate 267a, forcefully reminds one of the Apollo Belvedere, Plate 272.[3] Overbeck has drawn the conclusion from such borrowings on the part of the Pergamon sculptors that, "in this late Greek art the artists had begun to lose their keen perception of the purely ideal, while their power of invention had become extremely active in respect to historic realism, as is proved by the remains of their representations of Gauls." (See Plates 257ff.)

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[1] Ares there appears in the garb of a Roman.

[2] See *B. C. H.*, 19, 1895, Plates X–XV.

[3] Further correspondences between Pergamon figures and other known statues and reliefs are pointed out in Overbeck II, pp. 267ff. See also the official publications.

The feeling for lines and masses in these reliefs is pronounced, if not delicate. The eye is pleased and appalled in turn. Graceful forms, like that of Nike, Plate 266a, are revealed only by assiduous study, so surrounded they are by giants and coiling snakes and fanciful wings. There is, however, never any disorder, as even the most casual and bewildered glance perceives.

In the case of the individual gods whose names[1] were inscribed on the blocks above them, a certain character delineation is noticeable. Athena, Plate 266b, the patron goddess also of Pergamon, sweeps on, met by Nike, always victorious. The giant has sunk before her, even though no weapon is in her hand. In vain his mother Ge[2] appears to ask mercy for her son. He who rises against Athena must fall; his very attempt is his curse.

In Dionysos,[3] Plate 268a, in spite of his fighting attitude, the character of the beautiful patron god of wine and happiness is undisguised.

Zeus, Plate 266a, seems to be the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias risen from his throne. His mildness has given way to righteous wrath, and with his drapery still arranged as Pheidias had designed it, he raises his arm to hurl his thunder bolts[4] at the mightiest of the giants who have dared to attack him.

And Selene[5], Plate 268b, to mention only one other, glides

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[1] The names of the giants were inscribed below.

[2] Ge is the Greek Mother Earth. The word is akin to the first part of the name Demeter.

[3] Dionysos is accompanied by two satyrs. Of the second little satyr only the arm is preserved.

[4] Poverty of imagination seems to account for the actual thunderbolt stuck in the leg of the giant to the left of Zeus.

[5] Selene is the goddess of the moon. Compare the Selene from the Parthenon, Plate 140b.

on with the even grace which is traditional of the movements of the moon.

The giants are not less characteristic. They are colossal in strength, not by means of the perfect development of divine[1] bodies; for they are, in the majority of cases, monsters, with snakes instead of legs, with tails and with wings. Snakes can assume almost any position or fill any space without doing violence to natural semblance. They were, therefore, very welcome in a design in which no empty spaces were permitted.

The heads of the giants, which appear in their true light only when they are compared with heads like that of Laokoön, for instance, Plates 270 and 484, are worthy of careful study. In the case of Laokoön "one[2] feels that the forehead can be straightened and that the eyes can shine with the kind dignity of Zeus (Plate 487). It is just the opposite with the giants. Their deep-set eyes and darkened brows are theirs always. They are, as their features imply, a fierce and unjust race."

PLATE 269a. Goddess. Of marble. Capitoline Museum. Date and place of discovery unknown. Formerly in the Palazzo Cesi. Acquired for the Capitoline Museum under Clement XI (1700–1721). Restorations: both arms, the right foot, the nose and fragments of the lips. The head, the neck and the nude portions of the bust and of the left shoulder are carved in a separate piece of marble attached to the body. Helbig, 532; Reinach I, 200, 2.

Several technical peculiarities have induced scholars to assign this statue to the school of Pergamon. In the first place, the so-called closet folds[3] are indicated in the drapery, as is frequently the case in the Pergamon frieze, Plates 265ff. These

[1] To the Greek mind, nothing was more divine than the human body.
[2] Quoted from E. von Mach, p. 313.
[3] Hardly visible in the picture.

closet folds are the "horizontal[1] lines made in the mantle when lying folded up in the closet." The first instance of carving them is found in the statues of Maussollos and Artemisia, Plate 404, but they are frequent only in the Pergamon school of sculpture. Secondly, "the arrangement and style of the drapery occur in a statue found at Pergamon. And lastly, the hem of the neck of the chiton often appears on drapery carved by Pergamenian sculptors."

The head of the statue seems to copy a distinctly earlier type, that of Skopas. Helbig, however, argues convincingly that this fact speaks rather in favor of a Pergamon origin of the statue than against it. Skopas was a favorite with the sculptors of Pergamon, as with many artists of the Hellenistic age. The Pergamon sculptors, as was seen in the discussion of the altar frieze, Plates 265ff., did not object to copying earlier types. "It need not, therefore, appear strange that a Pergamenian artist has on one occasion exactly reproduced such a type, if it, according to his view, gave most complete expression to the ideal he wished to reproduce."

The School of Priene.

The ruins of the temple of Athena Polias in Priene contain a dedicatory inscription of Alexander of Macedon. The reliefs, however, which were excavated in 1869, and are now in the British Museum, London, belong probably[2] to the reconstruction of the temple under Orophernes at about 158 B. C. They are very fragmentary, but show many points of resem-

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[1] Quoted from Helbig, 532. Such folds may be used in the attempt to assign a date to an ancient statue just as well as the creases in the trousers on modern statues indicate their very recent origin. Such creases were unknown a generation ago.

[2] See Wolters, *Jahrbuch*, 1886, pp. 56ff., and Overbeck II, p. 405.

blance with the large frieze from Pergamon. They are, however, less powerful and in places even weak rather than vigorous. Together with these reliefs[1] several statues were found, the exact date of which it is the more difficult to ascertain, as it was the practice of many artists to adapt earlier types. The most interesting of these statues is reproduced on Plate 269b.

PLATE 269b. Draped Female Statue from Priene. Of marble. British Museum, London. Discovered in Priene in 1869. *British Museum Catalogue*, 1154; Reinach I, 673, 5. The holes in the belt served for the attachment of some metallic ornament.

At first sight this statue calls to mind the Charioteer of Delphi, Plate 60. A more detailed comparison, however, reveals more points of difference than of resemblance. Not only does the woman from Priene wear two garments,[2] but her upper garment also is arranged with a freedom and an attention to graceful simplicity that show the skilled artist. The simplicity of the Charioteer appears hard by contrast, and the limitations of the sculptor are never seen more clearly than when his work is studied side by side with the woman from Priene. This latter work, on the other hand, deserves the greater admiration, as all its improvements are due to the exercise of a fine perception of the beautiful, and a moderate use of the many devices which the advanced skill of the artist placed at his disposal. He has posed his statue differently, permitting her to draw back her right leg, and he has lengthened her garment. By means of these two devices, he has transformed the beautiful, although somewhat stiff, Charioteer into the impressive statue of Priene.

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[1] See the plate containing seven samples in Overbeck II, facing p. 405. [2] The sleeves of the thin lower garment are seen on the upper arms.

The School of Rhodes.

PLATES 270. Laokoön, by Agesander, Polydoros, and Athenodoros. Of marble. Vatican, Rome, Discovered near the Baths of Titus in Rome in 1506. Restorations: the right arm of Laokoön, the right arm of the younger son, and the right hand of the other son. E. von Mach, pp. 311ff.; Helbig, 153; F. W., 1422; Robinson, 656; Reinach I, 504, 2. See also Lessing's *Laokoön*, edition by Blümner, and the bibliography there given. Excellent bibliography also in Helbig, 153; *Jahrbuch* VI, 1891, pp. 177ff., and IX, pp. 43ff., on Laokoön monuments and inscriptions. See also *Jahrbuch* VI, 1891, Plate III, a Laokoön head in the Museo Civico in Bologna.

Pliny mentions in his *Natural History*[1] a statue of Laokoön and his sons in the palace of Titus, as a work to be preferred to all other statues and paintings. He gives the names of the artists as Agesander of Rhodes and his two sons, Polydoros and Athenodoros, and adds a brief description of the statue, by means of which the Laokoön now in the Vatican has been identified as undoubtedly the work of which he speaks.

Unfortunately his account contains no hint as to the date of the Rhodian sculptors, nor has the most assiduous study of all available sources yielded any definite indication. The internal evidence drawn from the group itself is not conclusive, because no other group is extant with which it can be compared. Agesander and his sons were men of genius, and genius may appear at almost any time. The only point on which one can feel fairly sure is that the Laokoön, with his intensity of emotion bursting the bonds of all æsthetic beauty, is unthinkable earlier than, or even during, the age of Praxiteles. Laokoön has been compared with the giants of the

[1] *N. H.*, 36, 37.

frieze from Pergamon, but the conclusions have varied, some scholars vehemently asserting that he must be later, while others just as firmly insist that he must be earlier. He belongs to the Hellenistic age; that is about as far as one may safely go in one's attempt at dating him.

Before one can proceed to appreciate the statue as a work of art, information must be gained on two points. In the first place, the restorations, the right arms of Laokoön and his younger son, are wrong. The arm of Laokoön ought to be bent back and his hand rest on his head, slightly above his right ear, where the end of one of the locks is cut away. The arm of the boy, who is almost dead, ought to fall limp by his side.

In the second place, the story of Laokoön, well known in antiquity, was current in several variants. Which one of these had currency in Rhodes or in the place for which the group was designed, we have no means of judging. The best known legend in modern times is that derived from Virgil, whose account makes of Laokoön an innocent sufferer at the hands of unjust gods. This probably was the original story. The Greeks, however, were jealous at all times of the reputation of their gods, and often altered old stories so that they might better conform to new ideas. Sophokles wrote a tragedy, Laokoön, in the fifth century before Christ, and from the few fragments that are extant of his work, it seems he imputed shameful deeds to Laokoön, who thus met a just fate.

Our instincts do not revolt against seeing the guilty man suffer, but against having the unjust fate of the innocent man portrayed. Our conception, therefore, of the character of Laokoön will be a determining factor in our estimate of his statue. The artist has the right to take this into account, provided he enables us to see the character of Laokoön in his work. When this is not the case, as in this statue, we are compelled to

judge of the work only according to visible actualities; and then our judgment must be adverse; for if it were not for the cruel sense of curiosity innate in most people, all would turn their backs upon the agonies portrayed in this group. They would do this the more vehemently as the remarkable skill of the artists seems to have filled with horrible pain not marble statues, but actual, living beings.[1]

As an instance of skill the Laokoön group is unsurpassed. One cannot see the body of the priest writhing in the extremes of pain, or look into his contorted face, that yet has retained indications of its noble features,[2] without understanding the justice of the saying of Pliny, "Laokoön is to be preferred to all other statues and paintings;" only one wants to add, "to all that care to be judged by skill only."

The School of Tralles.

PLATE 271. The Farnese Bull. Of marble. Museum, Naples. Discovered in the Baths of Carcaralla in Rome, either in 1546 or 1547, formerly in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, since 1786 in Naples, at first in the public grounds of the Villa Reale, now in the Museum. Restorations: on Dirke (the woman in the foreground), the entire upper part of the body from the navel upward, and both arms; on Amphion (the man to the spectator's right), the head, both arms but not the hands, both legs but not the feet, the end of his drapery and the upper part of his lyre; on Zethos, the head, both arms, the left leg but not the foot, and the right leg; on Antiope[3] (the woman back of Amphion), the head and both arms, and the spear; on the Bull, all four legs, except the hoofs of the hind legs; on the Mountain god (the little figure below

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[1] For a fuller discussion of this point, see E. von Mach, p. 311.

[2] For the head of Laokoön see the discussion to Plates 265ff. and E. von Mach, p. 313.

[3] This figure was broken about six inches below the knee. It is antique with the exception of the restorations mentioned above.

Amphion), the left arm and the right forearm; the dog is entirely modern except his forepaws. F. W., 1402; Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler* I, pp. 365ff. (the most exhaustive discussion of the group); Reinach I, 483, 2. For a collection of ancient monuments, gems, paintings, reliefs, see Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1853, No. 56, and 1878, p. 43f.; for the recently discovered wall painting, Text Illustration 45, see Ely, *J. H. S.*, XVI, 1896, p. 152.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION 44. The Farnese Bull, side view.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION 45. Wall Painting, respresenting the subject of the Farnese Bull. Dining room, house of the Vettii, Pompeii. Discovered in the house of the Vettii during the excavations of 1894–1895.

The subject of this group is taken from a Theban myth, which Euripides had treated in a tragedy called Antiope, of which only fragments are preserved. Dirke, the cruel queen of Thebes, had designed for Antiope, the mother of Amphion and Zethos, the fate which now is her own. She had selected the boys to be the executioners, but when they discovered that it was their mother whom they were bidden to tie to the horns of the bull, they turned against the queen, meting out to her the punishment which had been designed for Antiope.

The copious restorations of the group are substantially correct, with the one exception that Zethos, as is known from a cameo in Naples, held the hair of Dirke in his hand, probably [1] in order to raise her sufficiently to fasten the rope about her body.

Pliny [2] mentions a marble group in the gallery of Asinius

[1] Another interpretation is that he endeavored to pull her away from Amphion, to whose legs she clung, and that the rope was already fastened about her, as is seen on the cameo. For the objections to this view see Overbeck II, p. 342. [2] *N. H.*, 36, 34.

Pollio in Rome in these words, "In it stand Zethos and Amphion and Dirke and the bull and the rope, all carved of one block, and brought from Rhodes, the works of Apollonios and Tauriskos." And a little earlier he had said that Tauriskos was a sculptor of Tralles, and that the works in the gallery of Asinius were selected to form a collection of general interest.

The Farnese Bull is generally believed to be the group of which Pliny speaks. That the group is not carved out of one block is no objection to this assumption; for Pliny was not always accurate in his statements.[1]

The question has arisen whether the Farnese Bull is an original or a copy. The execution of the draperies seems to be in favor of a copy, but it is little credible that a composition of such huge dimensions, and requiring such an amount of time as the Farnese Bull, should have tempted any artist to reproduce it. This would seem to show that the group in Naples is the only sculptured group of the subject that existed. It need, however, not be an original even then, for it may reproduce a painting. That such is the case will appear from the following considerations.

Pliny mentions all the figures of the group except Antiope. In the chief view of the group Antiope does not appear, nor does she from any point of view enter into the action of the participants in the tragedy, either actively or passively, although it would have been easy to draw her closely into the group; she might have exhorted her boys, or have received the supplication for mercy of Dirke. Her figure serves only one purpose, and that is to fill a gap when one looks at the group

[1] It is possible to interpret Pliny's expression *ex uno lapide* as the equivalent of the Greek "one block" (*e. g.*, *Anthology* IX, i, 59), often applied to skilful works and possibly meaning no more than "joined together so as to appear to be of one block."

from the right. If it is, therefore, assumed that the original was a painting, it is easy to see how the necessity of carving the bull in its entire length would have led to an unpleasantly empty space back of Amphion. The sculptors were obliged to introduce another figure; and none was so readily inserted as Antiope, whose presence on the mountain, where the tragedy occurred, was attested to by the myth. The original artist had wisely refrained from painting her. It is more natural to forgive the cruel deed of Amphion and Zethos, when one sees them alone with the woman who had plotted to destroy their mother, than when the presence of this mother ought to temper the fierceness of their wrath. In her absence one thinks of the innocence and purity of Antiope, and is — such is vindictive human nature — almost ready to take part in the punishment of Dirke. By the presence of Antiope all this is changed. If she is willing to see the other woman suffer, she herself forfeits our sympathy; and, unable to pacify the wild mood of her sons, she appears to be less innocent herself. With Antiope absent, the group is the apotheosis of right conquering wrong; with Antiope present, it is turned into the glorification of the triumph of might over weakness. And there is, finally, one other fine touch that her absence lends to the group. One feels that up to the very last she may appear and take pity on Dirke, and that thus the awfulness of the suggested deed may be averted.

From the mere study of the composition, therefore, one reaches the conclusion that Antiope is an unpleasant addition, although she is necessary for the sculptured group. That Pliny should not have mentioned her, if his description was made from this group, seems incredible. Considering his method of work, however, this is perfectly natural if it is assumed that he was thoroughly familiar with the original picture, or copies of it. His statement then amounts to this:

44. FARNESE BULL GROUP, NAPLES.

45. FARNESE BULL GROUP, POMPEIAN WALL PAINTING.

the collection of Asinius Pollio is full of the most interesting curios. There is even a marble group of the punishment of Dirke, in which all the figures (well known in the painting), Zethos and Amphion and Dirke and even the rope, are carved together as if out of one colossal block.

That this was Pliny's meaning is the more probable since the fine painting recently unearthed in Pompeii, Text Illustration 45, tallies with the description of Pliny in every respect. It is of course not the original,[1] but it readily suggests it. In fact it is impossible to doubt a common prototype for the group in Naples and the painting in Pompeii. One has, therefore, the choice of looking upon the sculptor or the painter as the creator of the original. That it was the painter is indubitable. If it had been the sculptor, the painter copyist would have been obliged to reproduce also Antiope, which he could easily have done by arranging his figures differently. Antiope, therefore, does not belong to the original design, which means that Dirke's punishment was not invented as a composition in the round; for in this the figure of Antiope is a necessity.

The date of the original painting cannot be definitely ascertained because we know too little of Greek painting. The execution of the marble group, however, is more readily assigned to a definite period.

Nobody who has carefully studied the Pergamon Altar frieze can doubt that similar tendencies are at work also in the Naples group. The first impression of the Farnese Bull is one of bewilderment. The lines cross and recross each other, and the masses are arranged as prominent dots without any apparent attempt at harmonious distribution. The composition is nevertheless by no means confused. A second careful

[1] None of the Pompeian wall paintings are originals.

look at it brings order out of the apparent chaos. This is not the kind of work that appealed to artists of the fifth century, or even the fourth century before Christ. Such work is not found earlier than the Pergamon Altar; a fact, which, with certainty assigns the sculptors of Tralles to the Hellenistic age.

PLATE 272. Apollo Belvedere. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. "In all probability this statue was not found at Antium (Porto d' Anzio), as is usually stated, but in a *tenuta* (estate) of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, near Grotta Ferriata. Giuliano, after he had become Pope Julius II (1503–1513) placed this statue in the Belvedere" (Helbig p. 102). Restorations, by Montorsoli: the top of the quiver, both hands and the right forearm, the upper part of the stem, and various small fragments on the drapery and legs. E. von Mach, pp. 308ff. and 340; Helbig, 160; F. W., 1523; Robinson, 652; Reinach I, 239, 2. For the Stroganoff Apollo in St. Petersburg see first publication by Stephani, *Apollon Boedromios* (1860); Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 659–662, who says this statuette is a forgery; Kieseritzky, *Athen. Mitth.* XXIV, 1899, pp. 468–484, who says that it is an original; and Furtwängler's conclusive rejoinder, *Athen. Mitth.* XXV, 1900, pp. 280ff., who continues to maintain that it is a forgery. A picture of the Stroganoff Apollo is given in Helbig, p. 103. For the attribution of the Apollo Belvedere to Leochares, see Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grècque*, chapter on Leochares. For the suggestion that the Apollo Belvedere is part of a group, together with the Artemis of Versailles, Plate 296, and an Athena in the Capitoline Museum, see Overbeck, *Berichte der K. Sächs, Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, 1867, pp. 121ff.; and Overbeck II, pp. 378ff. Overbeck complains (II, p. 409, note 34) that his arguments have not been refuted and ought, therefore, to be accepted. The fact is, his combination group is perfectly possible. It is, however, not backed by arguments strong enough to compel acceptance.

Montorsoli, the restorer of Apollo, found it impracticable to add the lower right arm without attaching it to a support. He added, therefore, to the height of the tree-trunk. Originally the arm was supported by a block from Apollo's right leg, where the place of attachment is still visible. Its direction

shows that the arm ought to be brought forward to the extent of nearly two inches.

The chief defects of the restorations are the unpleasantly elongated hands.[1] Doubtful also is the attribute of the left hand, which now suggests the bow. As long as the Stroganoff bronze in St. Petersburg was believed to be genuine, scholars were inclined to copy from it the aigis also for the Belvedere Apollo. The bronze, however, is probably a modern forgery, so that deductions from it are inconclusive. Other attributes have been suggested, but none to universal satisfaction.

The comparison between this statue and the relief from Pergamon, Plate 267a, is striking. The Pergamon Apollo is nude, save for the bit of drapery thrown over his left arm in order to fill an empty space. The arrangement of the Belvedere drapery is very inappropriate, for to wear the quiver strap under the garment is unreasonable. This makes it probable that the statue is a copy not of another statue now lost, but of a painting[2] or a relief. Many of the gods on the Pergamon frieze were borrowed types; both Apollos, therefore, may be derived from the same prototype. A bit of drapery is very desirable as a foil to the nude. In a painting it may be added to a figure in such a fashion that it does not conflict with the quiver strap. In a figure in the round this is impossible.

These observations disprove Collignon's view that the statue is by Leochares, not to speak of the character of the statue, which is entirely different from the works of the fourth century. The resemblance of the Belvedere Apollo to the Ganymedes, Plate 233, is no valid argument; for it is not so close that it could not be accounted for in a multitude[3] of ways, nor is it

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[1] For the reasons which induced Montorsoli to carve the hands too long, see E. von Mach, p. 309. [2] For instances of sculptors copying the works of painters, see the discussion of the Farnese Bull, Plate 271. [3] See Helbig, p. 106, for one weighty counter argument.

closer than that to the Boy in Berlin, Plate 274, which even Collignon, no doubt, would place later than the fourth century.

The statue is discussed in detail in E. von Mach, pp. 308ff. The important points are:

1. Popular over-valuation of the statue.
2. Lack of dignity of Apollo, as compared with earlier works.
3. Physical beauty of the statue.
4. Skill shown in representing the figure walking, and devices by which this illusion has been attained.

PLATE 273. Praying Boy. Of bronze. Museum, Berlin. Date and place of discovery unknown. The statue belonged in the seventeenth century to Fouquet, whose son sold it in 1717 to Prince Eugene for 18,000 francs, from whose heirs Prince Lichtenstein acquired it, only to sell it for 17,500 marks to Frederic the Great. In 1806 the French carried the statue to France, but were obliged to return it in 1812. Restorations: both arms, except fragments immediately below the shoulders indicating their direction; the second toe of the right foot, and the second and third toes of the left foot; also small pieces in the deltoid and the eyeballs. *Berlin Museum Catalogue*, 2; Conze, *Jahrbuch* I, 1886, pp. 1ff.; Robinson, 511; Reinach I, 459, 4. Mau, *Röm. Mitth.*, XVII, 1902, pp. 100–106, interprets the statue as that of a ball-player. His theory is convincingly refuted by Furtwängler, *Münchener Altgemeine Zeitung*, November 29, 1902, *Beilage* No. 297. Mau also assigns him to the school of Lysippos, a view which was expressed earlier, *Röm. Mitth.*, XVI, 1901, p. 391. For a relief of a praying boy, *manibus supinis*, from Nemea, and a gem with the same motive, see *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1904, p. 75; for a coin, *Jahrbuch* I, 1886, p. 217.

From the gesture of this boy people used to argue as to the praying attitude of the ancients. The arms are modern restorations, a fact which has led many writers to discredit them as wrong. This is, however, a mistake, for enough of the arms was left to indicate their direction. It is thus merely a question as to the exact bend of the arms in the elbows; the

restoration is substantially correct. The position of the hands also seems to be established by other ancient monuments, so that one may continue to admire the statue for what it is, a praying boy.

It is one of the most beautiful extant bronzes, perfect in lines from every point of view, and exquisite in execution. Recently it has been brought into connection with the school of Lysippos; and it must be conceded that its affinity to the Apoxyomenos, Plate 235, and the Resting Hermes, Plate 237, is marked. There is, however, an element of reverence for the spiritual in this statue, which does not accord with our knowledge of the style of Lysippos, while it might have been characteristic of one of his followers.

PLATE 274. Boy from the Rhine. Of bronze. Museum, Berlin. Found near Xanthus in the Rhine in 1858, when the water was unusually low. *Berlin Museum Catalogue*, 4; Reinach II, 488, 7.

The place of discovery and the heavy[1] bronze of the statue point to a Roman workshop of the empire. The face also, which is very broad, is unusual. The statue itself, however, is undoubtedly inspired by a Greek original, and deserves to be admired as such. Unfortunately the broken right arm spoils the rhythm of the lines; but with this exception the boy is one of the most charming creations of ancient art, a fact which has been of late almost universally overlooked.

Just what the artist intended to convey with this statue is unknown. *Bonus Eventus*, genius of good luck, is one of the names[2] that has been suggested; *Novus Annus*, the spirit of the new year, is another; and *Bacchus*, the Roman name of

[1] The bronze of the Praying Boy, Plate 273, is very much thinner and more delicate. [2] For the several suggestions of names, see *Berlin Museum Catalogue*, pp. 5 and 6.

the Greek Dionysos, god of wine and good fellowship, is a third. All these suggestions are based on the cheerfulness that seems to emanate from the gracious advance of the boy. Others refer more specifically to his attitude. The forward inclination of the figure is considerable, and it has, therefore, been supposed by Friedrichs to designate a charioteer. The main objection to this view, namely, that the boy is nude, is no longer valid,[1] and what is more, his attitude reminds one of the charioteer in Boston, Plate 232. At best, however, this interpretation is only one of several possible ones.

In closing, it may be remarked that the general impression conveyed by this statue is not unlike that of the Belvedere Apollo, in so far as one judges of both statues not by the character of the persons portrayed, but by the physical energy which controls their bodies.

PLATE 275. Centaurs by Aristeas and Papias. Of dark grey marble. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Discovered in Hadrian's Villa, near Tivoli, in 1736; placed in the Capitoline Museum in 1765 by Pope Clement XIII. Restorations: on the old centaur inscribed with the name of Aristeas, the left eyebrow, almost all the fingers of the right hand, the thumb of the left hand, the middle of the right foreleg, and various minor details; on the young centaur inscribed with the name Papias, the end of the nose, the points of the ears, both hands, part of the left foreleg, the right hind leg, the tail, most of the pine branches, pieces of and on the tree-trunk, and fragments of the hair. Helbig, with full bibliography, 512; Reinach I, 426, 2 and 4. On the replica of the old centaur in the Louvre, see Fröhner, 299; F. W., 1421; Reinach 140, 2.

The replica of the older centaur in the Louvre retains fragments of a little god of love on his back. Attachments for such Erotes are visible on the backs of both statues in the

[1] See the remarks to Plate 232.

Capitoline Museum. The subject is therefore Age and Youth, both overcome by Love. The young centaur feels in his element; the old one, however, takes the matter more seriously, his arms are tied on his back and with marked displeasure he turns toward his tormentor.

His head and human body remind one of Laokoön, Plate 270, even more so in the Louvre copy, while the young centaur suggests satyr statues like those on Plates 282ff. It is, therefore, natural to date the original of this group in the Hellenistic age. The artists, however, whose names and country are inscribed on the base, were Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias, and it happens that we do not know of a flourishing school of sculpture in this place before the time of Hadrian in the second century of our era. The letters of the inscriptions agree with this date, and so does the very artificial style, which endeavors to treat the dark grey marble as if it were bronze. If, therefore, Aristeas and Papias carved the inscriptions themselves, they are perhaps only the copyists and not the original sculptors of the group. On the other hand, there is no objection to assuming that later copyists carved the inscriptions and that Aristeas and Papias, the original sculptors, lived earlier, in the Hellenistic age. That no mention is made of a school of sculpture in Aphrodisias in this age does not argue against this view. Not even Pergamon is mentioned in ancient literature as a center of art.

PLATE 276. Youthful Dionysos. Of marble. Terme, Rome. Discovered in the ruins of the Villa of Hadrian in 1881. Restorations: the front of the nose, a piece of the chin, the free-hanging parts of the nebris (skin), the thumb and most of the fingers of the left hand, the lower part of the left leg, the tree-trunk (except the part adjoining the thigh), and nearly all of the plinth. Helbig, 1022, with full bibliography; F. W., 520; Robinson, 528; Reinach II, 117, 4. First publication, Michaelis, *Annali*, 1883, p. 136ff.

The unmistakable resemblance in pose between this Dionysos[1] and the statues of Polykleitos, Plates 113ff., has led to three different datings of this figure. Wolters[2] sees in it the Roman copy of a work of the fifth century; Collignon[3] and Furtwängler[4] agree in assigning the original to Euphranor, an artist of the fourth century; while Helbig[5] is inclined to believe in an origin of the type in the Hellenistic Period. This last view is most probably correct.

While the points of resemblance of Dionysos to Polykleitan works is marked, those of difference from them are not less prominent, the most striking difference being the sentimentality of the figure, which is an element as unknown to Polykleitos as it is distinctly intentional here. Artists of the fourth century, although they did not hesitate to borrow earlier types, were nevertheless too creative and original to have copied an old statue — pose, dimensions, everything — and have added of their own nothing but a refined finish and element of sentimentality. This renders it very improbable that the originator of the Dionysos type was Euphranor, not to speak of the fact that the entire art of the fourth century, in spite of its leaning toward exterior beauty, was one of decided virility.

In the Hellenistic age many sculptors were less original; actual copying was a regular practice, and sentiment, carried to its extreme, was well liked, so that this Dionysos probably owes its origin to this age, unless one should prefer to push its date down even further, and credit it to the Roman era. Distrust of Roman sculptors is characteristic of modern scholars; and anything that is in the least good must be denied them. It is, however, undoubtedly true that some of them

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[1] The skin clearly indicates that this figure is meant to represent Dionysos. [2] F. W., 520. [3] Collignon, chapter on Euphranor. [4] Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 350ff. [5] Helbig 1022.

were able to create as good works as many Hellenistic Greek sculptors. The one indication in the Dionysos that would seem to point in their direction is the treatment of the hair, which is parted in the middle. This is unheard [1] of in the fifth and the fourth centuries before Christ, it is unusual in the Hellenistic age, and very common in Roman times. The parted hair at once singles the statue out from other representations of Dionysos, and conveys an impression of reality such as it is difficult to equal even in the Hellenistic age with its love for realism.

After all these discussions of date and origin, the student gladly turns again to the statue itself. It is one of the most endearing creations of ancient art, and one's estimate of Hadrian grows when one contemplates that he took sufficient pleasure in this Dionysos to add it to the many beautiful works with which he adorned his villa.

PLATE 277. Menelaos and Patroklos. Group of marble. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. Discovered in Rome, exact date unknown, but earlier than 1570, when Duke Cosimo I bought it. Restorations: on Menelaos, the head, neck and upper part of the body, the right arm, except the hand, the left arm, parts of the sword, and a few pieces of the drapery; on the dead Patroklos, both arms, the nose, the upper lip, and parts of the cheeks. F. W., 1397 and 1398; Amelung, 5; Reinach I, 498, 2. For a list of replicas see F. W., p. 506, and Helbig, 240.

TEXT ILLUSTRATION 42. So-called Pasquino. Fragment of the group of which Plate 277 reproduces a copy. Discovered in Rome in the sixteenth century, near the house owned by a shoemaker named Pasquino. Pasquino was well known for his attacks, full of satire, on popes and cardinals. After his death his name went to the ancient fragment, which had been erected where it was found and on which scurrilous verses, of the kind the shoemaker used to write, were pasted.

[1] If instances of it should be found, they would only be the exceptions that prove the rule.

The colossal size of these figures suggests ancient heroes, and it happens that an incident related in Homer tallies with the representation of the group. Patroklos has fallen, killed with two wounds, one in his back and the other under his left breast, just as indicated in the statue. Then Menelaos runs up to save the body of his friend, but on his way to the ships he is hard pressed and obliged to put Patroklos down, to draw his sword and defend himself. This is the moment here represented. The head of the Florentine statue is wrongly restored; like the Pasquino, the hero ought to look up and back toward the enemy. He is no longer carrying Patroklos, but ready to deposit him gently on the ground. This care, bestowed even on the dead body of his friend and at a time when he himself is hard pressed, is one of the most impressive touches of the composition. It is enhanced by the contrast that exists between the strong, active body of Menelaos and the youthful beauty of the dead Patroklos. Greek art is full of such incidents of deep human feeling. They are met with in Phigaleia, but most especially on the Maussolleion frieze and in the Niobe group.

Because of the singular correspondence of sentiment between this group and some of the Niobids,[1] a few scholars have been tempted to assign Menelaos and Patroklos to the fourth century, in substantiation of which view they might also have quoted the garment of Menelaos, which repeats the motive of the Maussolleion Amazon, Plate 229a.

There is, however, another close analogy, and that is with the head of Laokoön, Plate 484, "both in the shape of the skull and in the treatment of the skin and hair,"[2] which would seem to date the Florentine group in the Hellenistic age. Wolters comes to the same conclusion, irrespective of a re-

[1] See Plate 224a. [2] Helbig, pp. 160f.

semblance to the Laokoön, and says, "During the middle of the fourth century we know of no instance of a group similarly thoughtful in artistic arrangement; we feel, therefore, inclined to assign Menelaos and Patroklos to the first part of the third century."

If Wolters' conclusion is correct, as it no doubt is, it adds another argument to many others against the erroneous theory that the art of the entire Hellenistic age was one of decadence.

PLATE 278. The Nile. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered during the papacy of Leo X (1513–1522) near the church S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. Restorations, by Gaspare Sibilla: the fingers of the right hand, the ears of corn, except the stumps on the left calf, the toes; also the upper part of nearly all the children and in some cases still more. Helbig, 47; F. W., 1543; Reinach I, 431, 5. For the inferior companion piece to the Nile, the Tiber, found in 1512 in the same locality, see Fröhner, 449; Reinach I, 171, 5; and for the reliefs on the base, Reinach I, 68. For the river gods on the upper strip see the representation of Orontes, Plate 256.

That this unmistakable river god is intended to be the Nile is proved by the presence of the Sphinx, the symbol of Egypt, by the sixteen little figures, typifying the sixteen cubits which the river rises at its maximum inundation,[1] by the crocodile near his feet, by the ichneumon near his knee, and by the reliefs on three sides of the base with incidents from the life near the banks of the Nile. The fertility of Egypt, moreover, is indicated by the cornucopia and the ears of corn.

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[1] The Nile, with never failing regularity, begins to rise slowly from the fifteenth to the twentieth of July, then rapidly until the fifteenth of September. Then there is a standstill for two weeks, and after that a renewed rise, so that the river reaches its maximum at mid-October. Then the flood sinks to its lowest mark, so that the cultivation of the ground may begin about December.

The place where the statue was found has yielded numerous monuments which relate to Egypt, so that a temple of Isis is assumed to have stood there. The companion piece to this river god, the Tiber, now in the Louvre, may have been intended to suggest the new home of the goddess, as the Nile typified her old place of worship.

The workmanship of the statue assigns this particular copy to Roman times, when the Tiber also was made. The origin of the Nile, however, is to be sought for at an earlier date, probably in Alexandria in the Hellenistic age. Allegory and peasant life were favorite subjects of the Alexandrians, whose tendencies are better known to us from literature than from extant monuments.

One quality that was noted on the Pergamon Altar, Plates 265ff., and again in the Farnese Bull, Plate 271, is prominent also in the Nile. This quality refers to the desire of the artist to round out his entire composition even at the cost of momentary confusion of outlines, and to his skill in bringing order out of the seeming chaos.

The sixteen little figures have, in this instance, supplied the sculptor with the means of creating a characteristic work along these lines. Their distribution is very ingenious. They are combined in pleasing groups wherever the masses of the human body tended to leave an empty space or to taper down to unsatisfactory thinness, as below both arms and near the feet.

The reliefs, filled with incidents taken from the daily life of the Egyptians, are wisely reserved for the back and the two sides of the base. In front, they would have detracted from the interest in the god himself.

PLATE 279. Poseidon Of Melos. Colossal statue of marble. National Museum, Athens. Discovered in the island of Melos in 1878,

and acquired for the Museum in Athens for 27,000 drachmai.[1] Restorations: the nose, the left side of the back of the head, which was carved separately, small fragments of the drapery and the trident. Kavvadias *Catalogue*, 235; *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1890, I, p. 339; *B. C. H.*, XIII, Plate 3; Reinach I, 28, 1.

At first sight, this colossal statue is very imposing. The god is revealed in his might. He, the master of the ocean, is aroused, and at a word from him the billows of the sea will pile up and bring destruction to whomsoever he hates.

His drapery is arranged like that of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias, so that he seems to have just risen from his throne. The moment of rest is represented, the storm is suggested, — but not only the storm; for the unruffled drapery, which is appropriate to a seated figure but impossible for one in action, implies that excitement may pass and that the god may return once more to the peaceful posture of the Olympian Zeus.

The detailed finish of the statue is mediocre, for the artist has bestowed all his attention upon its general appearance. This presupposes, on his part, an estimate of the quality of his spectators, which is by no means favorable to them, and appears to have been impossible before the heterogeneous element of art lovers had made its appearance in the Hellenistic age.

It is interesting to compare this statue with the Poseidon in the Lateran, Plate 239. Here only the dolphin explains the nature of the god, who, but for this animal of the sea, might have been a Zeus or any other of the great gods. There the entire figure is characterized as what it is, Poseidon. The superiority of the Lateran type would be even more apparent if it were extant in a better copy, but, even so, the serious

[1] A drachme is officially the equivalent of a franc. Its value, however, fluctuates and rarely even approaches that of a franc.

student has no difficulty in assigning to both statues their proper places.

PLATE 280. Satyr, "Barberini Faun." Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Found during the repairs of the Castle of S. Angelo (the mausoleum of Hadrian) in Rome, 1624–1641. The statue was immediately placed in the Palazzo Barberini, where it remained until 1799, when it was bought for Munich in 1813, but the permission to remove it from Rome was not granted until 1820. The first publication of the statue in 1642 showed it restored (picture, Reinach I, 409, 3, in the reverse), but probably only on paper. The present restorations were made by the sculptor Pacetti, who had bought the statue in 1799. He seems to have followed the plaster restorations made by Bernini (1598–1680), with one important exception. He bent the right leg more sharply in the knee, supporting the foot on a piece of rock which he inserted for this purpose. The original foot probably rested on the spot which now shows dark on the illustration below the foot. Restorations: the entire right leg and fragments of the left leg, the left lower arm, the right elbow, the fingers of the right hand and the tip of the nose, also the back part of the rock. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 218; F. W., 1401; Robinson, 657; Reinach I, 402, 2 and I, 409, 3. For a suggested change of position, tilting the figure further back, see Habich, *Jahrbuch* XVII, 1902, pp. 31ff. (review, *A. J. A.*, VI, 1902, pp. 467), and Bulle, *Jahrbuch* XVI, 1901, pp. 1ff., with several illustrations. But see the conclusive rejoinder of Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, p. 203.

Fresh from the Bacchic revels this satyr is overcome with sleep before he has found a comfortable position. To tilt him back in the endeavor to have him seem to rest more easily, as Bulle and Habich suggest, is depriving him of one of his best touches of realism, while it is also contradicted by the now vertical, loose hanging ends of the panther skin between his legs.

The type of face of this statue is entirely new, and so is its general conception. In the age of Praxiteles, satyrs were reproduced different from human beings, but they were noble

products of the artist's imagination: see the "Marble Faun," Plate 195. This satyr differs from human beings, to be sure, but only because he is the incarnation of those base elements which in man rarely appear unallied with better impulses. This at once removes the statue from the cycle of the fourth century artists. Its excellent workmanship and its simplicity of design seem to indicate that it cannot be of a very late date.

The realism of the statue is pronounced, as "appears[1] first of all in the posture of the figure and is followed even more carefully in the sensual, half-savage face. The expression of the open mouth is strongly suggestive of sonorous breathing."

PLATE 281. Sleeping Satyr. Of bronze. Museum, Naples. Discovered in Herculaneum during the early excavations. *Museo Borbonico*, Vol. X, Plate 61; Reinach I, 409, 4.

This statue offers interesting points of comparison[2] with the preceding. It is obviously not an original, and is in need of a supporting background. The superiority of an original masterpiece like the "Barberini Faun," Plate 280, is nowhere more apparent than when it is compared with the less thoughtful work of a copyist.

PLATE 282a. Dancing Satyr. Of bronze. Museum, Naples. Found in 1830 in the ruins of a house in Pompeii, which house received from it the name Casa del Fauno.[3] F. W., 1504; Mau-Kelsey pp. 288ff., and p. 451, fig. 258; Reinach I, 408, 1.

PLATE 282b. Dancing Satyr. Of marble. Terme, Rome, formerly in the Villa Borghese. Found in 1824 on Monte Calvo, near Rieti, in the Sabine District. Restorations, probably by Thorwaldsen: both arms and cymbals, the lower part of the right leg except the front

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[1] Quoted from Robinson, 657. [2] Another interesting comparison may be made between it and the Reposing Hermes in Naples, Plate 237. [3] The Latin *faunus* is used synonymously with the Greek *satyr*.

of the foot, the tail, the lower part of the stump with the adjacent parts of the skin, and the greater part of the plinth. Helbig, 944; F. W., 1427; Reinach II, 50, 8.

PLATE 283. Satyr Playing Scabellum.[1] Of marble. Uffizi, Florence. Date and place of discovery unknown. It belonged to the collections of the Medici family as early as 1600. Restorations: the head, almost entire; both arms; the toes of the right foot; several pieces of the legs, and other pieces near the left hip. Amelung, 65; Robinson, 536; Reinach I, 405, 1 and 3. For a scabellum played by a flute player, see the relief of a sarcophagus, Baumeister, p. 442, fig. 492.

These three statues of satyrs are samples of the large number of similar representations dating from the Hellenistic Period, when the tumultuous hilarity of these creatures of fancy pleased the popular taste better than the fine conception of the "Marble Faun," Plate 195, or the ignoble character of the "Barberini Faun," Plate 280.

The gayety of the bronze satyr from Pompeii, Plate 282a, is catching; it "is[2] instinct with rhythmic motion. Every muscle of the satyr's sinewy frame is in tension as he moves forward in the dance, snapping his fingers to keep time; the pose is a marvel of skill." There is no tree-trunk to impair one's pleasure, and altogether this satyr is one of the best bronzes in Naples.

The next satyr, Plate 282b, is a marble copy, tied to a supporting block of marble and unable therefore to convey the impression of motion in spite of the suggestive twist of his body. The arms are restored, but they continue well the rhythm of the figure. Similar arms are added to the Marsyas after Myron, Plate 65a, where they are out of place. The

[1] Scabellum is the name of the instrument on which the satyr is playing with his foot. It emitted sounds like those of castanets.

[2] Quoted from Mau-Kelsey, p. 451.

Marsyas is designed for a plane of two dimensions; the Borghese Satyr implies an accurate conception of the requirements of space, that is, of three dimensions.

Like the Naples satyr beating time with his fingers, he in the Uffizi must give vent to the rhythm which he feels. He uses for this purpose the scabellum, and his entire body is bent to enforce the time which he is beating out with the shrill instrument under his foot. A modern artist would, perhaps, have represented him engaged in a clog-dance.

The accuracy of the restored arms is doubtful. Amelung suggests the satyr ought to be playing a double flute like the girl on the Sarcophagus relief in Baumeister, fig. 492. This seems, however, inappropriate; for the double flute is a dignified instrument, while the attitude of the satyr is marked by its careless abandon to one controlling idea — rhythm.

PLATE 284. Spinario. Of marble. British Museum, London. Found in Rome in 1874. Restorations: a few pieces in the back, which is also mended with plaster. *British Museum Catalogue*, 1755; Overbeck II, 183ff.; Reinach II, 144, 2.

This statue has been, in part, discussed in connection with the Spinario in Rome, Plate 72, which Overbeck believed was a copy of the same original. It was, however, seen that his view was untenable. The Roman Spinario belongs to the Transitional Period of Greek sculpture, while the London statue, as all agree, is a work of the Hellenistic age. Its individuality, far removed from the typical, which is represented in the other statue, and its submission to the requirements of space — it is a statue in the round in the best sense of the word — date it with absolute certainty.

More difficult is it to find a definite artist to whom to attribute it. Boëthos has been suggested by Overbeck, but unfortunately on insufficient grounds. Overbeck makes his case

very plausible, but the data on which he bases it are so few that the real conclusion must be not the statue *is* by Boëthos, but it *may* be by Boëthos, which is a very different thing.

Boëthos appeared as the maker of the Boy with the Goose, Plate 254, and is mentioned by Pausanias[1] as the sculptor of a seated nude boy in the temple of Hera in Olympia. In this statue Overbeck sees the original of the Spinario. In the manuscript the boy is designated as gilded (*epichryson*) which seems to be superfluous, in view of the fact that Pausanias rarely vouchsafes such information. It has, therefore, been suggested that the passage ought to read *epikyrton*, which would mean "in a stooping posture." But even if this emendation is accepted — and on text-critical grounds there is no objection to it — it still seems a little rash to claim Boëthos as the maker of the Spinario type on the sole grounds that his statues of boys were famous,[2] and that he also made a statue of a seated boy in a stooping attitude.

PLATE 285. Torso of a Triton. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Found, date not published, on the farm of S. Angelo at Tivoli. Restorations: the tip of the nose, parts of the ears and hair, and almost the entire lower part of the body. Helbig, 187; Reinach I, 429, 3.

Tritons were the mermen of ancient mythology, and are often represented together with the Nereids. Their bodies ended in fishes, or, in one variety called sea-centaurs, in horses. Often, however, they were seen emerging from the sea, in which case the shape of their lower extremities was left to the imagination. Creatures of fancy, at all times, they were represented with the characteristic signs of their terrestrial cousins, the satyrs. Their ears are pointed, and a skin

[1] Pausanias V, 17, 4, or *S. Q.*, 1596. [2] There are several references to the children by Boëthos in ancient literature.

resembling the nebris, or panther skin, is slung about their shoulders. This was the more natural, as the myth connected the tritons also with the cult of Dionysos.

The first great sculptor to select tritons as subjects worthy of serious treatment was Skopas. The melancholy expression which is characteristic of all sea-deities, and indeed also of human beings dwelling near the sea, may have appealed to him. The element of brooding sadness is very strong in the Vatican triton, whose head, moreover, offers several points of resemblance to the head of Niobe, Plate 220, so that some scholars have been inclined to see in him Skopadean influences. Skopas, however, was a man of more moderation and greater reserve than is shown in this head. The originator of this type must, therefore, be sought among his successors, probably in the Hellenistic age.

PLATE 286. Borghese Warrior. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Found early in the seventeenth century in the ruins of the old city of Antium; at first in the possession of the Borghese family, and since 1808 in the Louvre. Restorations: the right arm and the right ear. F. W., 1425; Robinson, 661; Reinach I, 154, 1–4.

This statue is designed and posed with one definite view in mind, to show the skill of the artist and his knowledge of anatomy. Half on the defensive — the shield[1] is held up, half ready to deal a decisive blow — the right leg and arm are drawn back, the body of the warrior is shown at the moment of its greatest tension, an excellent model for students in art classes. All indications of actual warriors, such as helmet and armour, are omitted, and the face is that of a man of the lower classes, and not suggestive of a hero. The speculations, therefore, as to the foe whom this warrior was

[1] Of bronze, once attached to the shield-handle on the arm.

fighting, are futile. Any definite incident portrayed would have made an appeal to the imagination of the spectators. The sculptor, however, desired to appeal only to their vision.

When this is kept in mind, the statue is not so disappointing as it appears when one approaches it with higher expectations. It is, moreover, a statue distinctly *in the round*, and loses more than most Greek statues when it is projected on a plane of two dimensions, as is the case in a photograph.

An inscription on the support of the figure contains the name of the sculptor, Agasias, son of Dositheos of Ephesos. The character of the letters assigns the statue to the first century before Christ. This is probably also the date of the conception of the statue; for it is difficult to believe that earlier artists would have been willing to use their superior skill for the execution of a subject which conveyed absolutely nothing beyond what was actually seen.

PLATE 287. Warrior from Delos, probably a Gaul. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Found in Delos in 1882 during the excavations of the French School at Athens. Reinach, *B. C. H.*, 1884, p. 178, and 1889, p. 103; Kavvadias, *Catalogue*, 247; Robinson, 661a; Reinach II, 195, 5; Wolters, *Athen. Mitth.*, 1890, pp. 188ff. The now lost upper part of the figure was carved of a separate piece and added to the trunk.

Near this statue a base was found containing the name of Agasias, son of Menophilos, of Ephesos. This base Reinach at first believed belonged to the statue; and since another Agasias of Ephesos, the son of Dositheos, was the maker of the Borghese Warrior, Plate 286, he reasoned that there might be some connection between the two statues, which in pose, indeed, are not unlike each other. Wolters, however, proved convincingly that the base does not belong to the statue, but that on the other hand an inscription containing five distichs

does. This inscription celebrates the victory of Philetairos, brother of Eumenes II,[1] over the Gauls, and contains the name of the artist Nikeratos. The statue, therefore, probably represents a Gaul. So conclusive are Wolters' arguments that Reinach himself has accepted them.[2] He publishes the statue as that of a Gaul in his Repertoire II, 199, 5.

The warrior from Delos, as an observation from the original proves, is in technique and style not unlike the statues of the school of Pergamon, while it has only the pose in common with the Borghese warrior. Near it were found fragments of a horseman, suggesting that it was against him the warrior was defending himself. He has sunk on his right knee and is entirely on the defensive. He is thus much lower than the Borghese statue and might well have formed part of a group.

In spite of these differences there is nevertheless an element of similarity between the two statues, which calls for an explanation. The Agasias inscription from Delos undoubtedly supplies it. It proves that sculptors from Ephesos worked in Delos, and suggests that also the other Agasias, son of Dositheos, might have been familiar with the Delian warrior. When he, therefore, looked for a subject in which to display his skill, that statue seemed to him to supply it. He adapted it and, disregarding its connection with a group, made it serve him as a means by which to show his knowledge of technique and of anatomy.

PLATE 288. The Wrestlers. Of marble. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Found in 1583 near the Lateran in Rome, together with the Niobe group, Plates 220ff. Restorations: both heads, which are

[1] The great altar of Pergamon was built under Eumenes II, 197–156 B. C. [2] Robinson based his account on Reinach's first erroneous publication. His references to the similarity of the skin of both statues are particularly open to objections. Compare Gardner, p. 477.

antique[1] but do not belong to the statues; on the youth on top, both arms; on the other youth, the lower right arm, the forefinger of the left hand; also the base. Amelung, 66; F. W., 1426; Robinson, 531; Reinach I, 523, 1.

PLATE 289. The Wrestlers. Of bronze. Museum, Naples. Discovered in Herculaneum in 1754. *Antichita Ercolano*, Vol. IV, Plates LVIII and LIX; *Museum Inventory*, Nos. 5626 and 5627; Reinach II, 541, 2.

These two groups — for the two figures in the Naples Museum are supplementary and form a group — represent different moments of the sport of wrestling. The Naples figures have been interpreted in various ways, but the majority of scholars seem to agree that they are athletes ready to start a wrestling match. Their whole attitude implies not only eagerness to make a forward move, but also readiness to meet an attack. This is best seen in the firmly planted feet of the advanced legs. If the youths were runners, as some have believed, they would be leaning forward more. As they stand, they cannot start to run without losing time by raising the heels of the forward feet.

The youths in Florence have nearly finished their match. The under one is held in such firm embrace that he will have to acknowledge his defeat soon. The other, however, is taking no chances, and has raised his right hand so that he may quickly seize upon any member of his adversary that the latter may succeed in freeing.

The arrangement of this group is extremely skilful. It is built up, a pleasant mass, and its lines, although at first perplexing, are far from being confused. This indicates a kind of design that is akin to the sculptures from Pergamon, Plates 265ff., and other[2] Hellenistic works.

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[1] Both heads probably are replicas of the head of one of the Niobids. On both the nose is restored. [2] Compare Plates 271 and 277.

The Naples figures are dated in the Hellenistic age with less certainty. Individually they resemble the reposing Hermes, Plate 237, which probably belongs to the cycle of Lysippos in the fourth century before Christ.

PLATE 290. Youth from Antikythera. Of bronze. National Museum, Athens. Discovered on the bottom of the sea near Antikythera, off Cape Malea in 1900. The statue is copiously restored and has been entirely covered with putty, so that it is far from offering an appearance at all comparable to the original. The head, parts of the upper body and the right arm are the most important ancient parts. *Ephemeris*, 1902, pp. 149ff.; E. von Mach, pp. 325ff.; for copious bibliography see *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, p. 465 and VII, 1903, pp. 464f.

Never since the reawakening of serious interest in ancient art early in the nineteenth century, has a work of Greek workmanship received such unworthy treatment as this youth from Antikythera. "The [1] entire statue has been covered with a thick layer of paste to conceal the rivets, seams and joints and has been artificially colored to look like a genuine bronze statue. The surface modelling of the statue is, therefore, not Greek but modern; *not* by Skopas or by Lysippos, as has been said, but by M. André, whose office is that of 'restorer of works of art' in Paris." This makes it extremely difficult to speak authoritatively of the statue. M. André's skill of course, made it possible for him to give the statue an appearance, by means of its surface finish, of any desired age, or of a mixture of the characteristics of several ages.

This alone explains the great variety of opinions that have been published concerning the statue. S. Reinach [2] attributes it to a sculptor of the early fourth century, one who was in-

[1] Quoted from E. von Mach, p. 326. [2] *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1901, pp. 295ff.

fluenced by Polykleitos, — he seems to think of M. André's heavy proportions.

A. S. Arvanistopoulos[1] dates it still further back, perhaps to Alkamenes, noting probably a certain lack of refinement of finish in the restoration compared with the dignified pose.

Charles Waldstein at first[2] believed the statue showed the style of Praxiteles and later[3] changed his view, so that he assigned the work to Skopas — his judgment was based on the pose and the general appearance of the statue.

Ernest Gardner[4] considers the statue a work of the Hellenistic age, which "combines[5] much that is good from earlier artists, but with a theatrical pose, an anatomical realism, and an absence of self-contained dignity proper to the later age."

The same view has been taken by the writer,[6] who, in commenting on the points of resemblance which the statue has with works of the fourth century before Christ, adds that, "Greek artists of the autumn days, or even of a later period, were well able to adopt some of the characteristics of an earlier school."

The gesture of the statue is a peculiar one, which has not yet found a universally satisfactory solution.[7]

PLATE 291. Aphrodite of Melos. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Found in 1820 in a grotto on the island of Melos. Bought by the Marquis de Rivière in 1821 and presented to Louis XVIII, who placed it in the Louvre. Restorations: the end of the nose, part of the lower lip, the big toe of the right foot, and a few small pieces elsewhere restored in plaster. Fröhner, 136, with the bibliography up to 1869;

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[1] In a monograph on the statue, Athens, 1903. [2] *Monthly Review*, June, 1901, pp. 110ff. [3] *The Illustrated London News*, June 6, 1903. [4] *J. H. S.*, XXIII, 1903, pp. 152ff. [5] Quoted from the review, *A. J. A.*, p. 465. [6] E. von Mach, p. 326. [7] Compare, however, the remarks on this gesture in E. von Mach, pp. 325ff.

F. W., 1448–1450, with the bibliography brought up to 1885; E. von Mach, pp. 301ff.; Robinson, 539, with important bibliography up to 1896; to which add Reinach *Chron. d. Arts*, February 9, 1901; and Michon, *R. Et. Gr.* XIII, 1900, pp. 302ff. Reinach I, 172, 5. These references by no means include everything that has been written on the statue. They will, however, serve as an introduction and, by means of cross references, introduce the student to the complete bibliography.

PLATE 292a. Front View of the Aphrodite of Melos. Plate 291, Reinach I, 172, 6.

PLATE 292b. Torso of Draped Woman. Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen. Date and place of discovery not published. Copenhagen, *Catalogue*, 273; Reinach I, 338, 5.

No other statue of ancient art has so completely absorbed the interest of all intelligent people as the Aphrodite of Melos, and no other is so universally admired as she. Popular admiration is proverbially indiscriminate, and although it has been bestowed in this instance on a worthy subject, the qualities of the statue are not those which some people ascribe to her. She is not, in the first place, of the impersonal grandeur that characterizes the age of Pheidias, nor is she a creation of such supreme harmony that she is beyond reproach in every respect. She is, however, designed to satisfy the beauty-loving taste of spectators by means of her general grandeur and the perfection of modelling of her most noticeable parts. How people at first ascribed her to Pheidias is to-day incomprehensible, and similarly strange, future generations will think, are the attempts[1] of some scholars of to-day to identify her with the work of the fourth century before Christ. A glance at the Aphrodite of Arles, Plate 203, at once reveals the gulf that lies between "Our Lady of Melos" and the conceptions of Praxiteles[2] and his co-workers. The former statue, however

[1] For an explanation of these attempts see E. von Mach, pp. 301ff.

[2] It must not be forgotten that the Aphrodite of Arles is only a copy.

much designed to please the eye, makes allowances also to the intelligent knowledge, on the part of the spectator, of the subject portrayed; the garment is large enough to cover the figure if the goddess should pull it about herself. The Aphrodite of Melos appeals almost exclusively to the eye of the spectator, to his senses, and not to his knowledge. For reasons of design, the drapery is much smaller than is natural.

The type of the Aphrodite of Melos is not unique. It is a development of such figures as the statue in Berlin, Plate 103, and, more directly, of the statue in Copenhagen, Plate 292b, although this particular copy has suffered by the exaggerations in her drapery, which may be due to the individual likings of a late adaptor. From this type, preserved in the Copenhagen figure, various statues are derived besides the Aphrodite of Melos, the most important of which are the Nike of Brescia, Plate 301, and a figure of Nike on the Column of Trajan.[1] The Aphrodite of Capua, Plate 293, is more directly influenced by the statue from Melos, these two being the only ones in which the drapery of the upper part of the body is omitted.

For a detailed discussion of the name of the statue, of its date and restorations, reference must be made to E. von Mach, pp. 301ff., and the other books and articles mentioned above. A few words, however, ought to be given to the popular mistake of calling the figure "Venus de Milo" or "of Milo," giving to the letter "i" the continental pronunciation which corresponds to the English "e," or finally, of pronouncing the word "Milo" according to the English quality of "i."

Venus is the Latin equivalent of the Greek Aphrodite and, therefore, less applicable to this Greek statue. It is, however, also the common French name of the goddess, and has gained currency because the statue became known through French publications.

[1] Text Illustration, 28.

The word "Milo" is the continental endeavor to spell the word as it ought to be pronounced, since in modern Greek the "e" in Melos is like the English "e." The "s" had dropped off in common speech long before the statue was discovered. If the French authors had retained the "e" in Melos, the people would have mispronounced it to sound like what an Englishman would spell Malos. In short, Venus de Milo is the French name of the statue. To retain this in English is needless. If, however, it is retained, it ought to be pronounced with the French accent. To translate the French "de" into the English "of" and to keep the other two words of the foreign name, calling the statue Venus of Milo is affected; while to keep the French spelling "Milo" and to pronounce it as if it were an English word is barbarous.

Equally unwarranted it seems to keep to the French "Venus" and to translate "de Milo" into "of Melos." This is reasonable only if the person who speaks of the "Venus of Melos" consistently uses the term "Venus" instead of "Aphrodite." The latter name, however, has become so well known, not only in recent French and German books, but also in English writings, that it may be used without fear of its being unintelligible.

PLATE 293. Aphrodite of Capua. Of marble. Museum, Naples. Discovered during the middle of the eighteenth century in the ruins of the amphitheatre at Capua, whence it was taken first to the castle of Caserta and later to Naples. Restorations: the nose, both arms and the end of the drapery over the left thigh. F. W., 1452; Robinson, 542; Reinach I, 320, 5 and 6.

As the base of the statue shows, another figure was grouped with it, probably Eros. He appears as the companion of Aphrodite on a coin of the Roman colony of Korinth, which reproduces a temple image almost identical with the statue

from Capua. In her arms she held the shield of Ares, in which she watched her reflection. His helmet is under her foot, indicating that the lord of battles has sucumbed to the goddess of love. The only difference between the coin and the statue in Naples is that in the latter the shield rested on the leg, as is indicated by the angular cut in a fold there; while in the former, Aphrodite holds the shield up in her arms. The brittleness of marble required a support for the shield, in order to relieve the arms.

The present restoration of the statue must be corrected by supplying the shield and changing the position of the arms so that the hands may lay hold of it.

Wolters points out that the forms of Aphrodite are rather too soft in modelling to be lastingly satisfactory, but that they are in keeping with the motive, which is slight — a vain goddess of love watching her own reflection.

The relation of this figure to the Aphrodite of Melos and kindred statues has been pointed out above, page 322. It is not so close that one need think of an actual copy, while it presupposes a knowledge of the general type mentioned above.

PLATE 294. Crouching Aphrodite. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered in 1760 on an estate situated on the Via Praenestina, and acquired for the Vatican by Pope Pius VI (1775–1798). Restorations: the hair, except the locks lying on the neck; the entire back part of the head; all the fingers of both hands, except the left thumb; probably also the entire right hand; the front of the right foot and several toes of the left foot; practically the entire base.[1] The face has been retouched. Helbig, 252; Reinach I, 339, 1 and 2; compare also, F. W., 1467.

This statue is commonly known as the Aphrodite of

[1] This includes the artist's name on the base, for which see Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, No. 497.

Daidalos, although the grounds on which it has been attributed to this artist are slight. Three sculptors of this name are known. The first, belonging to the archaic period, is perhaps a mythical person;[1] the second lived toward the end of the fourth century and was an artist of Sikyon, a compatriot of Lysippos;[2] while the third, of whom little is known, was born in Bithynia and worked in the Hellenistic Period.[3] Pliny[4] mentions a Bathing Aphrodite by Daidalos in the temple of Jupiter in Rome, and it is this statue which several modern scholars believe is copied in the Vatican Aphrodite and the great number of similar extant statues. Formerly the fourth century Daidalos was mentioned as the possible originator of this type. This view, however, is generally abandoned[5] to-day, because all these crouching figures seem to stand clearly under the art influences characteristic of the Hellenistic Period.

The Vatican statue is a *genre* piece, but the motive of the bathing goddess is almost forgotten over the display and the arrangement of her bodily charms. It is very different in this respect from the Knidian Aphrodite, Plates 198 and 199a, and compared with her, marks the difference of artistic aims in the two periods to which the statues owe their origin.

PLATE 295. Ariadne. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. Already during the papacy of Julius II

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[1] See E. von Mach, p. 103. [2] Some ancient writers give Argos as the home of Lysippos. [3] He made a statue of Zeus for Nikomedeia, a city which was founded in 380 B. C. [4] Pliny, *N. H.*, 36, 35. [5] For the discussion of this question and the coins of Bithynia and a few fourth century gems, see Helbig, 252, and F. W., 1467.

(1503–1513) the figure adorned a fountain in the Belvedere Garden Restorations: the entire rock and all the vertical folds of the garment falling over it, also the horizontal section of this garment between the left knee of Ariadne and the rock below her elbow; further, the nose, the lips, the right hand and several fingers of the left hand. Helbig, 214; F. W., 1572; Robinson, 758; Reinach I, 385, 2. For the replica in Madrid, see F. W., 1573; Reinach I, 415, 2.

In discussing this statue Helbig comes to the same conclusion that was reached by the writer in respect to the Farnese Bull, Plate 271, that it is a copy after a painting and not after a piece of sculpture. Helbig's arguments, which are based on extant replicas of the type in mural paintings, in reliefs and in a few statues, are almost identical with those advanced by the writer in connection with the Farnese Bull.

The statue represents Ariadne, who had fallen into a troubled sleep just before Theseus left her and Dionysos appeared as her saviour. The arrangement of her drapery and her awkward pose perfectly express this idea. Ariadne appears to have moved uneasily in her sleep. The resulting lines, perplexing at first but not confused, are in keeping with some of the art tendencies of the Hellenistic Period, as they are noted above in connection with reliefs of the altar from Pergamon, Plates 265ff., the Farnese Bull, Plate 271, and the Nile, Plate 278.

PLATE 296. Artemis of Versailles. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Date and place of discovery unknown. It was carried from Rome to France in the sixteenth century, and after having been erected in several places, added to the collection of the Louvre in 1798. Restorations: the nose, both ears, a part of the neck, the right hand and part of the lower right arm, the entire left arm and hand, the right foot and upper part of right leg, the end of the large toe of the left foot, the two ends of the quiver and several small pieces in the drapery, the hair and

other parts of the statue. Fröhner, 98; E. von Mach, pp. 308ff.; F. W., 1531; Robinson, 660; Reinach I, 143, 4–6. For the suggestion that Artemis ought to be grouped with the Belvedere Apollo see the remarks to Plate 272. R. Dussand, *Rev. Arch.*, 1896, 28, suggests an entirely new restoration of the statue with both arms raised as just having shot her arrow and looking ahead at her prey. For the picture of a hunting goddess see the Megarian bowl from Thebes in the British Museum, *J. H. S.*, XXII, 1902, p. 3, fig. 2.

This statue is discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 308ff. The important points are:

1. Artemis is impressive not by means of her expressed character, but by means of her body and the movement of her body.

2. She wears the long chiton girt up high so that it appears short. (Compare Plate 206 and the remarks to it.)

3. The fold over the left knee is studied in effect, and characteristic of the taste of a late period that loved to suggest more than it considered modest to carve.

4. The fussiness of the folds of the garment reminds one of that of the Niobid in Florence, Plate 222, which stands in strong contrast to the simplicity of the Niobid Chiaramonti, Plate 221.

5. The simplicity of the not dissimilar torso in Copenhagen, Plate 305, suggests that the Artemis of Versailles is not an original, "an idea which is well sustained by the rather poorly modelled hind and the awkward support."

PLATE 297. Athena Giustiniani. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered, date unknown, near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. It was in the possession of the Giustiniani family early in the seventeenth century. Later it belonged to Lucian Bonaparte, who sold it to Pope Pius VII (1800–1823) for the Vatican. Restorations: the sphinx on the helmet, except the feet; the lower half of the right forearm and the spear, except its lowest part, which was preserved; several fingers and the head of the serpent. Helbig, 51; F. W., 1436; Robinson, 588; Reinach I, 233, 1.

The critics of this statue are much divided in opinion, some holding that it is a copy of an original of the fourth, or perhaps even the fifth century before Christ, and that the elaboration of the drapery and the gesture of the left hand, almost nervously playing with the edge of the mantle, are innovations introduced in the otherwise accurate copy by the late sculptor. Others, however, consider these so-called innovations of such importance that they believe they are indications of the date when the statue was made. The strong reminders of an earlier art in the dignified pose and in the shape of the head they explain as natural in the Hellenistic age, when sculptors constantly borrowed older types which they changed more or less to suit their needs.[1]

This latter view gains in probability owing to the fact that both the sphinx on the helmet and the snake at the side of Athena are copied from the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias, Plates 96ff.

Although Athena is provided with her attributes of war, spear, aigis, and helmet, she is conceived here as the goddess of intellect. The snake at her side, which has given her the mistaken name Athena Medica, is more probably meant to represent the mythical Erechthonios, who was often thus represented; unless it is perhaps nothing but a thoughtless copy of one of the attributes of the Parthenos.

PLATE 298. Athena Chiaramonti. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Discovered during the papacy of Pius VI (1775–1798) in the ruins of the so-called Villa of Cassius in Tivoli, together with seven statues of Muses and a statue of the cithar-playing Apollo. Restorations: the crest of the helmet, the tip of the nose and both arms. F. W., 1437. A replica of the same statue is also in the Vatican. On it the left arm is more pleasingly restored as hanging almost straight down at the side. Reinach I, 233, 5.

[1] For a discussion of this habit see the remarks on Plates 265ff.

"Not only the execution, but also the invention of this figure is insignificant," Wolters says in his accurate estimate of the Athena Chiaramonti. She is, no donbt, a very late creation, perhaps even of Roman times, when Apollo and Athena were often grouped together with the nine muses on sarcophagus reliefs; and this statue, as noted above, was found together with Apollo and the muses in the ruins of an ancient villa.

She is, barring her wrongly restored left arm, pleasing to look at, but compared with other fine Athena types,[1] insignificant and uninteresting.

PLATE 299. Melpomene. Colossal statue of marble. Louvre, Paris. Probably discovered, date unknown, in the ruins of the theatre of Pompey. The statue was restored during the papacy of Pope Pius VI (1775–1798) and placed in the Vatican. Napoleon I carried it away to France. Restorations: the tip of the nose, the lower lip, the right forearm and the mask, the fingers of the left hand, several toes of the right foot, the edge of the cloak and several fragments in the drapery. Fröhner, 386; F. W., 1442; Reinach I, 160, 3. For a head of Melpomene in Athens see F. W., 1444; for other statues of Melpomene see Reinach I, 264ff.

This statue, which is about twelve feet in height, is carved of one colossal block of marble and is probably the largest extant ancient statue. It was no doubt designed for a distant view and its place of discovery, the ruins of the theatre of Pompey, indicates that it was erected in one of the niches of this colossal building.

Melpomene is the muse of the tragic art. Her attribute is, therefore, the mask;[2] which, although it is a restoration in the Louvre copy, is attested to by other replicas. Often she also

[1] Compare Plates 95, 96, 101, 107, and 297. [2] Ancient actors invariably wore masks.

carried the club of Herakles,[1] the best known of the many heroes whose legends formed the subjects of the majority of Greek tragedies.

The high belted garment is characteristic of actors, who with it appeared to be larger than they were.

The statue is dignified and, barring the slightly sentimental turn of the head, well able to suggest the pathos of tragedy.

PLATE 300. Polyhymnia. Of marble. Berlin. Discovered by Frascati, exact date unknown, in the ruins of a villa supposed to have belonged to Marius; formerly in the collection Polignac; later in Sans Souci. Restorations: the head, the neck, the left breast and shoulder, the left arm except its lower half, the left hand, the greater part of the right hand and the lower right arm, the greater part of the right shoulder and back, the left foot, the lower left leg, the base, the larger part of the rock and fragments of the drapery. *Berlin Museum Catalogue*, 221; Reinach I, 275, 7. For the replica in the Louvre see Fröhner, 391; Reinach I, 166, 3. Both restorations are based on extant monuments, see, for instance, the relief in the Louvre, Reinach I, 106, 4; and the Apotheosis of Homer, Plate 310.

Polyhymnia is *the* muse *par excellence*, without any further designation; while all her sisters are muses either of tragedy or comedy or music, etc. She generally stands closely wrapped in her garment, and in reliefs is often represented in a gently swaying or dancing attitude.

The upper part of this figure is so extensively restored that it is not advisable to draw any conclusions from it. The folds of the drapery below, however, are interesting. They are heavy and vertical in front, gradually curving at the bottom, until in the back they assume curves of easy grace. A very similar transition from stiff folds to easy curves of drapery

[1] This interpretation is doubted by some scholars, who see in the club the attribute of Dike (Justice), Moira (Fate), or Ananke (Necessity).

is noted on the Aphrodite[1] Kalipyge in Naples, Reinach I, 328, 1–3.

PLATE 301. Nike of Brescia. Of bronze. Temple of Vespasian, arranged as a museum, Brescia. Discovered in 1826 near the west side of the temple built by Vespasian (69–79 A. D.). Restorations: insignificant and assured by the remains. Dütschke IV, 375, with full bibliography; F. W., 1453; Reinach I, 348, 1.

The connection of this Nike with the type preserved in the Aphrodite of Melos, Plate 291, and the Aphrodite of Capua, Plate 293, has been noted in the discussion of those statues. The shield on which this Nike is inscribing the name of the victory to be commemorated, is as appropriate in her hands as it seems strained in the hands of an Aphrodite, although even there it finds a reasonable explanation. It is, therefore, impossible to determine whether the type of these figures was invented as Nike or Aphrodite, or possibly a still different deity.

PLATES 302 and 303. Nike of Samothrace. Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Discovered on the island of Samothrace in 1863, and immediately removed to the Louvre, except the blocks of the base, which were left on Samothrace until 1879. Restorations: one hundred and eighteen pieces into which the statue was broken have been joined. E. von Mach, pp. 306ff.; Fröhner, 476; F. W., 1358–1359; Robinson, 759; Reinach II, 380, 2 and 3. The first accurate interpretation and dating of the statue by Conze, Hauser and Benndorf, *Untersuchungen auf Samothrace*. For further bibliography see F. W., 1358–1359.

This statue is discussed in E. von Mach, pp. 306f.; the important points being:

[1] H. Heydemann, *Jahrbuch* II, 1887, pp. 125ff., compares this statue with a vase painting and says it is not a statue of Aphrodite, but a statue of a Hetaira, or, to use a modern equivalent, a "chorus girl."

1. The date of the statue is established by the fact that it was erected to commemorate a naval victory in 306 B. C.

2. Reproductions of the statue on coins show Nike blowing the fanfare of victory and holding what seems to be a trophy in her left hand.

3. Mastery over space is the keynote of the statue. She seems actually to be moving through space.

4. The devices by means of which movement has been indicated render any special view of the statue undesirable for any length of time. If one begins by looking at the statue from the front, the lines of the folds vigorously carry one to the side, and *vice versa*.

5. There may be a question whether such conceptions of motion properly belong to the sphere of sculpture.

PLATE 304. Themis of Rhamnous. Of marble. National Museum, Athens. Discovered in the temple of Themis in Rhamnous in 1890. Restorations: a few small defects of the figure are repaired in plaster. Kavvadias, 231: Reinach I, 244, 4.

The inscription [1] on the base of this statue reads in substance: Megakles, son of Megakles, of Rhamnous, dedicated this statue in honor of a choraic victory.[2] The sculptor was Chairestratos, son of Chairedemos of Rhamnous. Nothing else is known of this artist; his date, however, is determined by the character of the letters which were in use in the early third century before Christ.

This statue deservedly has come to be a favorite; for so pronounced are its merits and so almost hidden its defects that one is impressed by the former and apt to forget the

[1] Not seen in the illustration. [2] For memorials of choraic victories see Plate 253.

latter. The charm of the head, set straight on youthful shoulders, is unequalled in Greek art. It conveys the idea of kind and thoughtful justice, and is enhanced by the contrast between the severe folds of the outer garment (himation) and the close-fitting softness of the chiton on the upper part of the body. The body of the goddess is seen to be slight, but the arrangement of the himation adds to it considerable weight. This is largely due to that part of the himation which falls from the left arm. The material heaviness of these marble folds, however, needed a support, which was provided by an unnatural width of the chiton over the feet, a width entirely out of keeping with the garment revealed at the waistline. This device constitutes one of the strongest defects of the statue. It is no doubt inspired by a similar device in the statue of Dionysos, Plate 187, but differs from it in that it supplies nothing new to the conception of the figure.

A sensitive eye is further offended by the arrangement of the himation about the waist and the ensuing heavy lines, also by the point tucked — or rather suggested as being tucked — under the left arm. The long, deep folds running up from the right ankle toward the left elbow introduce another disturbing element. They are unpleasant as appears especially when the lower part of Themis is contrasted[1] with the fragment of a draped woman in Berlin, Plate 252.

All these defects, however, are of slight consequence compared with the general dignity and charm of the statue.

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[1] The garment of the woman in Berlin is as much superior to that of Themis as the latter is superior to the garments of the torso in Copenhagen, Plate 292b, and of the Nike of Brescia, Plate 301.

The beautiful upper part of the figure makes so immediate and so lasting an appeal that one rarely finds the time to pay attention to the less satisfactory lower part.

In its technique and the use of special tools for special purposes, this Themis resembles the Nike of Samothrace, Plates 302 and 303. This, however, does not appear in the photograph.

PLATE 305. Torso of Draped Woman, Artemis. Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen. Date and place of discovery not published. *Copenhagen Catalogue*, 150.

This magnificent torso, probably designated as Artemis by the quiver strap, has been mentioned above in connection with the Artemis of Versailles, over which it has the advantage of comparative simplicity. Strangely enough, the fold over the left knee appears also here, although in a much more delicate way. It shows here the desire of the artist to impress the spectator by means of the contrast between the nude and the drapery, a desire which has led to the beautiful treatment of the right side of the figure above the girdle.

Some of the folds of the garment are undoubtedly inspired by the "Nike"[1] of the Parthenon, Plate 139, and suggest a similarly rapid movement through space as that of the "Nike." The converging folds at the right side of the figure, indicating the fluttering of a windswept drapery, deserve special attention.

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[1] If the "Nike" seems to lose in delicacy compared with the Copenhagen torso, it must be remembered that she was intended to be seen at a very considerable height.

Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period.

One of the most prominent characteristics of the numerous reliefs of the Hellenistic Period is their tendency to show pictorial qualities. The appeal of the majority of them is the appeal of a picture;[1] and since sculpture cannot do justice to any but its own appropriate subjects, most Hellenistic reliefs fail to give entire satisfaction. The skill of the artists on the other hand, is so great that many reliefs are not only pleasant to look at but profitable to study. A small selection of typical reliefs is given on Plates 306ff. The most important books[2] are Schreiber, *Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, and Hauser, *Neuattische Reliefs*.

PLATE 306. Endymion. Of marble. Capitoline, Rome. Discovered on the Aventine during the papacy of Clement XI (1700–1721). Restorations: several locks of Endymion, the front of his right foot, the great toe of his left foot, and the point of his lance. Helbig, 462.

There can be little doubt that this relief copies a painting. When it is imagined painted all its charms are enhanced, and most of its defects disappear. The rocky background, which cannot be satisfactorily expressed in sculpture, receives its proper treatment, and the left side of the sleeping Endymion, which now almost disappears from view, is prominently brought to notice; the painted light

[1] Not a few of the reliefs are undoubted copies of pictures.

[2] Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, takes a unique position. He assigns all these picture-reliefs to Roman art.

of the whole picture, doubtless suggested the approach of Selene, the goddess of the moon, who, according to tradition, came to surprise the tired hunter. This again will explain the excitement and fear of the dog — notice his tail — which in the unpainted relief seems strangely out of keeping with the sleeping Endymion.

The lines of the body of Endymion are entirely unlike those familiar to Greek sculpture, but may have been characteristic of a certain school of painting. The drooping head and long neck of the boy and the elongation of all his members distinctly remind the modern spectator of the peculiarities of that brotherhood of artists of which Burne-Jones is the most prominent representative.

PLATE 307. Dancing Woman. Of marble. Theatre of Dionysos, Athens. Discovered in the theatre of Dionysos in Athens in 1862. F. W., 1878.

PLATE 308. Dancing Woman. Of marble. Museum, Constantinople. Discovered in Pergamon during the recent excavations. *Antike Denkmäler* II, Plate 35 and text.

These two reliefs are samples of a large class of decorative reliefs, the aim of which was to please by means of rich and beautifully arranged draperies. They might be called studies in draperies, and seem to have belonged to the general stock of knowledge of the Hellenistic artists. The Dancing Woman from Athens occurs[1] with no, or only slight variations, on a number of extant monuments.

PLATE 309. Apollo, Artemis, Leto and Nike. Of marble. Villa Albani. Date and place of discovery not published. Restorations: part of the pillar to the left, the right hand and elbow of Leto and the

[1] See F. W., 1878.

part of the drapery hanging below her right elbow, and a great part of her figure between her right hip and her knees; the right thumb and forefinger of Artemis; the tip of the nose and the right hand of Apollo; the tip of the nose, most of the left hand, thumb and forefinger of the right hand, and fragments of the wings of Nike. Helbig, 779; Robinson, 590.

In view of the studied stiffness of the draperies on this relief, Helbig suggests that it may be a free copy of an archaic work, and adduces in substantiation of his view the fragment of a relief in the Baracco collection,[1] "representing the same theme and consistently reproducing the peculiarities of the late archaic style." The temple in the background, which has Corinthian columns, unknown in archaic Greek times, he calls a later addition.

The accuracy of this view may be doubted; for there are so many indications of late art, even in the figures, that it seems difficult to credit them to an archaic original. This is especially true of Nike. The lines of her right arm and hand are of a kind unknown to Greek sculpture earlier than the Hellenistic times. They imply a taste not dissimilar to that revealed in the drooping head of Endymion, Plate 306, and ought to be contrasted with the lines of the arm[2] of the athlete in Munich, Plate 126a. The freedom of pose, moreover, of all the figures, especially that of Leto, the goddess to the left, is so great that the relief is more probably the individual creation of a later artist than a copy of an earlier work. The suggestion of archaism in the draperies is readily explained by the prevailing custom in Hellenistic times of adapting at will and without attempt

[1] Baracco and Helbig, *La Collection Baracco*, Plate XXXIIIa, p. 34.

[2] The arm of this statue is restored. Its accuracy, however, is proved by other monuments.

at consistency whatever pleased the taste of the individual artist.

The arrangement of the background, a temple behind a wall, against which the figures are relieved, realizes in the wall the requirements [1] of sculpture, namely, a flat background, while it makes allowances in the temple to the growing preference of the people for the pictorial element even in reliefs. A similarly arranged background is seen on Plate 315. Students of Roman antiquities readily recognize a marked correspondence between both these reliefs and one style of wall decorations [2] in Pompeii.

PLATE 310. Apotheosis of Homer. Of marble. British Museum, London. Discovered during the middle of the seventeenth century near the Via Appia; formerly in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome; since 1819 in the British Museum. Restorations: the two upper corners and the left arm and bit of drapery of the dancing, or hurrying woman in the right hand corner; the right foot of Homer (the seated figure in the lowest row); the left hand and roll of Memory (the second front figure from the right side in the same row); and the left hand and saucer of Mythos (the boy in front of Homer). Further, the heads of the following nine figures: lowest row, Sophia (the lower of the two figures at the right hand side); second row from the bottom, all except Polyhymnia (the third figure from the left); third row from the bottom, the second, third, and fourth figures from the left. F. W., 1629; Robinson, 589; and especially Reinach, *Gaz. Arch.*, 1887, pp. 132ff., and *Rev. Arch.*, 1900, pp. 398ff.

The names of the figures in the lowest row are inscribed below them. They are from left to right: Chronos (Time) and Oikoumene (the inhabitants of the world) crowning

[1] For a discussion of these requirements see E. von Mach, pp. 53ff.

[2] See, for instance, Baumeister, fig. 525, or Mau-Kelsey, p. 466, fig. 263.

Homer, who is seated before them on a throne supported by two children, Ilias and Odyssee; Mythos in front of the altar, and Historia behind it; Poiesis (Epic poetry) with two torches; Tragoidia; Komoidia; Physis (Nature, probably natural inclination); a little girl, hardly visible in the photograph, in front of the group of four women to the right. These women are so crowded that it is difficult to assign to each her proper name. They probably are: in the back row, Arete (Virtue) and Pistis (Faith); and in front, Mneme (Memory) and Sophia (Wisdom).

The figures of the other strips are not distinguished by inscribed names. Zeus on top is characterized by his scepter and the eagle in front of him; and Apollo in the cave by his long robe,[1] the lyre and the omphalos,[2] against which are placed his bow and quiver. The statue in the same row with Apollo is probably intended to commemorate some poet; it has been suggested, him who dedicated this relief. The roll in his hand implies that he is a poet, and the tripod behind him suggests that he has won a victory.[3] By representing him as honored with a statue, while the other figures are portrayed actually alive, the artist has singled him out as not belonging to the action of the relief.

The ten remaining figures are probably Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses, and her nine daughters. Mnemosyne[4] is the tallest woman in immediate neighborhood of Zeus. Kalliope comes dancing down the hill near her.

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[1] See discussion to Text Illustration 25 and Plate 104. [2] See discussion to Plates 66 and 67. [3] For the custom of erecting tripods in honor of victories, see the discussion to Plate 253. [4] These names for the several muses, in the absence of prominent attributes, are hypothetical.

On her other side from right to left are Euterpe, Erato, Melpomene, Klio; while below, from left to right, are Terpsichore, Urania,[1] Polyhymnia, and in the cave with Apollo, Thalia. Formerly this figure was interpreted as a priestess, and Mnemosyne was called one of the Muses in order to have the full traditional number of nine muses.

The subject of this relief is very complex, and he who would understand its full meaning must be familiar, not only with Greek traditions, but also with their philosophical interpretations. No artist earlier than the Alexandrian school of learning in the Hellenistic Period would have attempted its representation. The sculptor of this relief was, according to an inscription, immediately below Zeus, Archelaos, son of Apollonios of Priene, who lived, to judge from the character of the letters, about 100 B. C.

Judged not by the story told, but by the distribution of lines and masses, the relief deserves high praise. The eye notices everywhere with pleasure deviations from mathematically accurate lines, and a delightful variety in the orderly balance of masses. The individual figures also are full of charm. To mention only a few, Oikoumene in the lowest row, Urania and Apollo in the next row, and above them the graceful joyous Kalliope.

PLATE 311. Herakles and the Hesperidai. Of marble. Villa Albani. Date and place of discovery unknown. In the sixteenth century it was preserved on the Monte Giordano. Restorations: the upper part of the left third of the slab. The only ancient portions of the figure behind Herakles are a piece of the left arm, and the lower part of the left leg, with the drapery covering it. The nose of the Hesperide to the right and most of the rocky ground are also modern. Helbig, 784.

[1] The Greek spelling of this name is Ourania.

The figures of this relief remind one of those of Attic grave reliefs of the best period. Our collection contains no exact replicas, but the Hesperide to the right suggests the woman, Plate 354b; while the combination of the seated figure with another figure standing before it occurs on Plates 360 and 361, and of a third figure behind the seated ones on Plates 368 and 374. The landscape setting, however, dates the relief in the Hellenistic Period.

"The subject[1] is a version of the myth of the Hesperides especially current in Attica, according to which Herakles obtained the golden apples, not by violence but with the connivance of the daughter of Atlas." The other version of the myth, according to which Herakles was duped by Atlas, who had promised to fetch the apples if Herakles would support the universe for him, and who afterwards refused to relieve the hero of his burden, is represented on one of the metopes from Olympia, Plate 90.

PLATE 312. Paris,[2] Eros, Aphrodite, Helen, and Peitho. Of marble. Museum, Naples. Date and place of discovery unknown; formerly in the possession of the Duke of Noja. Restorations: the face of Aphrodite, and probably also the forefinger of her left hand, and the right hand and wrist of Paris. F. W., 1873; Robinson, 548.

There is not a figure in this relief that could not have been carved in the fourth century before Christ. The story-telling element, however, was unknown to the sculptors of this period, so that the relief doubtless owes its origin to the Hellenistic age. It is one of the so-called Neo-Attic reliefs, in which not the invention of the types of the figures, but their grouping was original with the sculptors.

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[1] Helbig, 784. [2] The original Greek name of the hero generally known as Paris is Alexandros. This name is inscribed on the relief.

The story is told with much impressive simplicity. Paris, proud and impatient, seems almost to be ready to turn away, but is restrained by Eros, the god of love, whose mother, Aphrodite, in the meanwhile tries to persuade Helen — Peitho, the little spirit of persuasion sits above her on the column — to yield herself to Paris.

The grouping of the figures is well done, while the large wings of Eros obviate the difficulty of having the heads on different levels. The coaxing persistence of this little god is well portrayed in his attitude, while his easy unconcern is reflected in the nonchalant gesture [1] of his right hand.

The grouping of the two seated figures is especially skilful, so that Aphrodite is drawn slightly in front of Helen for the sake of revealing more of her than would have been possible otherwise. The two women, moreover, are well characterized in their poses; Helen thoughtful and almost shrinking, Aphrodite persuasive and unconcerned about possible consequences.

An interesting point in the figure of Paris is that he wears his sword strap *under* his garment. The Apollo of the Belvedere, Plate 272, also has a strap under his garment, which is even less in place there than here, because it is a quiver strap.

PLATE 313. Peasant Going to Market. Of marble. Glyptothek, Munich. Found in the neighborhood of Rome in 1820, and presented to the Glyptothek in 1858. Furtwängler, *Catalogue*, 455.

In this relief the sculptor has stepped far beyond his own province, for the whole design is that of a picture. But granting him the right to execute such subjects in marble, he has done exceedingly well, so that one cannot but allow him much credit for his technical skill.

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[1] Compare this with the hand of Oinomaos, Plate 84a, and contrast it with the left hand of the "Marble Faun," Plate 195.

PLATE 314. Satyr after the Hunt. Date and place of discovery unknown; formerly in the Villa Albani. Restorations: the right arm of the satyr with the rabbit, except the forelegs of the rabbit; a great part of the panther skin; head, neck, and left hind quarter of the panther, restored as a dog; the head and breast of the rabbit on the column; several folds of the cloak and a piece near the base of the column; part of the trunk of the tree. Fröhner, 281; Reinach I, 69, 2.

The general remarks to Endymion, Plate 306, apply with equal force to this relief, which, though skilful in technique, lacks the refinement and delicacy of line of the Endymion. The drawing of the feet of the satyr is awkward; and the picturesque background very disturbing. The projecting branch of the tree reminds one of the branch on the relief in Munich, Plate 313, while the figure of the satyr himself appears like a poor copy of the Endymion.

This relief demonstrates better than any other the inadvisability of introducing the pictorial element into sculpture.

PLATE 315. Visit of Dionysos. Of marble. Museum, Naples. Discovered, date not published, in Capri. Restorations: the heads of the last two satyrs to the right, and the upper right hand corner of the block. Robinson, 534; Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, p. 191, No. 4; Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, No. 39.

The subject of this relief is of frequent occurence in extant monuments.[1] Dionysos, heavy with wine and supported by a little satyr, appears as guest of a man, who, together with a woman, is reclining at his feet. The god's gay retinue is following him. The entire composition is relieved against a wall, over the top of which the roofs of other buildings appear. In this respect the background of the Naples relief is like that of the relief in the Villa Albani, Plate 309, from which it differs

[1] F. W., 1843, 1844, and 2149.

only by the curtain hung in front of the wall to deprive it of its monotony. A similar curtain, but less characteristically treated, is seen in the lowest row of the Apotheosis of Homer, Plate 310.

The general remarks to the preceding plates refer also to this relief. The pleasing arrangement of figures, however, and the good drawing make of it one of the best of the Hellenistic Period.

Part Seven.

Græco-Roman, Eclectic and Imitative Sculpture.

Toward the end of Greek sculpture proper and about the time when it was merged with Roman art, and even later, a number of works were created which it is difficult to classify. They are, in the first place, not Greek, that is to say, not permeated with the spirit of art that through centuries had put its own peculiar stamp on the creations of the Hellenes.[1] They are, on the other hand, not Roman, for they treat of subjects which were of no great interest to the Roman national mind. The subjects, indeed, are Greek, but they are treated in the eclectic or imitative manner characteristic of outsiders. In many instances the artists show no more feeling for what is characteristically Greek than Thorwaldsen or Canova did early in the nineteenth century. Whether the general assumption that most of them were of Greek extraction is true cannot be determined. Since, however, the historic sculpture of the Roman empire found Roman artists ready to execute its themes, many may have been Roman.

Roughly speaking, the statues grouped together in this class are of two kinds. They are, in the first place, imitative of a certain definite period, generally the archaic, of which the forms are broadly suggested, while the spirit is not infrequently lost. It is as if a western artist attempted to paint a Japanese

[1] The Greeks called themselves Hellenes.

picture. The second class is not confined to one period, but combines the forms of several into a new and often pleasing whole. It selects what it likes from everywhere; it is eclectic. The first reveals the copyist, the second the adapter.

The ideas of both these schools had been seen actively at work during the whole of the Hellenistic Period, but they were kept in abeyance by a strong admixture of creative individuality, and, what is more, by a well-defined feeling for the spirit of Greek art. When these two qualities began to be subordinated or even entirely lacking, the copyist[1] and the adapter appeared.

To-day we again live in an age when the existence of the *spirit* of art is sometimes denied, and nothing but the form is studied. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to reach an agreement among modern scholars as to extant ancient works[2] and to affirm that this man did and this man did not understand the spirit of the art which he copied or adapted. Under these circumstances, and in view of the services which this Handbook and collection are intended to render, it has seemed wise to include in this group only[3] those works on which there is a concensus of opinion. The most careful students, however,

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[1] The term "copyist" is used here in a different sense from the one that applies to those men who made exact replicas of statues just as we to-day take casts of them.

[2] It is especially difficult because the marble replicas taking the place of the modern casts, often lost the spirit of the statues and reproduced only their forms, so that there is hardly any difference between such a replica and the works here discussed.

[3] An exception has been made in the case of the two statues of women in Boston, Plates 319 and 320, which are here published for the first time. Most writers of ancient art, if they had known of these statues, and had included them in their books, would probably have assigned them to the Hellenistic Period.

will be convinced of the advisability of detaching several works from the preceding periods and of adding them here.

PLATE 316. Archaistic Pallas Athena. Of marble. Museum, Naples. Discovered in Herculaneum. Hair and ornaments were gilt when the statue was found. *New Catalogue* by Domenico Monaco, 1886, translated by E. N. Rolfe, No. 6007, under the heading, *Corridor of Masterpieces;* Reinach I, 227, 1.

The treatment of the folds of this Athena reminds one of the figures from the Akropolis, Plates 25ff., and of the Athena of Aigina, Plate 83, while her attitude is similar to that of the bronze statuette, Plate 35. The entire statue bears witness to the studied endeavor of the artist to work in an early style, the halting skill of which he had outgrown, although he was unable to reproduce its spirit of life.

Works of this kind are commonly called *archaistic* in contrast to the genuine archaic. The term is broad and is applied by some scholars to all attempts of artists to work in a less advanced style than is natural to them. In a narrower sense of the word it refers to those works which were carved at the end of the Hellenistic age, or later, in imitation of statues of the archaic period.

Many of the archaistic works show much external refinement, and since their finish is often exceedingly delicate, many people, even those who prefer genuine expression to laborious copying, cannot help admiring them.

PLATE 317. "Karyatid." Of marble. Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen. Date and place of discovery not published. Formerly in the Giustiniani collection, Rome. Restorations: the nose, mouth and chin, both lower arms, and the left breast. *Glyptothek Catalogue*, 248.

The style of this figure is based on that of the Maidens

of the Erechtheion. The statue may, therefore, be said to hold an intermediary place between one of the originals, Plate 166, and the slavish copy of it, Plate 167. Unlike both, it was not intended to serve as an architectural support, as is shown by the treatment of the hair, and also by the absence of heavy sandals. Treading the ground with bare feet, this girl is more readily imagined as walking.

The important features of her face are restored, so that it is not possible to know whether a portrait statue was intended or not. But whatever the artist's intention was, it is clear that his genius was imitative rather than creative. It is this fact which places his statue in this group and not by the side of the Erechtheion figure, Plate 166.

PLATE 318. The "Esquiline Venus." Of marble. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Discovered in the ruins of a villa on the Esquiline Hill in Rome in 1874. Restorations: the tip of the nose. Helbig, 566; Robinson, 166; Reinach II, 364, 2.

Unless the characteristics of the statues grouped together here as a class are understood, the "Esquiline Venus" is an anomaly. And so she is called by Robinson who says, "The Esquiline Venus is an anomalous work, for while the body is modelled with a voluptuousness that almost oversteps the line dividing the nude from the naked, the head is treated with archaic severity, in the style of the first half of the fifth century." These correct observations can be reconciled only on the assumption that in this statue we have a work of the eclectic school of sculpture. The artist may have borrowed his type from the fifth century, and have introduced of his own volition the sensuous modelling of the nude body.

If this assumption is right, then the original was not an Aphrodite, for this goddess was not represented nude in that

period.[1] It has, therefore, been suggested, on the strength of a vase painting[2] that the artist was influenced by an Attic painting of Atalanta preparing for her race with Hippomenes. But if this is the case, then again the artist has introduced a foreign element; the body of this woman is not that of a girl in training,[3] as Atalanta was.

What the artist called his statue we do not know, perhaps he was satisfied with calling her "a nude woman." Judged as such, the statue is interesting. The proportions are not Greek, but the girl is nevertheless beautiful. It is one of the best instances of the eclectic school of sculpture.

PLATE 319. Statue of a Seated Woman. Of marble. Museum, Boston. Discovered in 1900 (or in 1899) in Vasciano in Umbria. Report of the Trustees of the Museum, Boston (Robinson), 1903, p. 58, No. 11; Amelung, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1901, p. 29. For a similar statue see Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 694, No, 117; Reinach I, 257, 2.

The workmanship of this statue, as Robinson has pointed out, bears a strong resemblance to that of the age of Augustus, while on the other hand the subject distinguishes it from those works which in this collection have been grouped together as Roman National, Part Eight. The finish of the statue is very pleasing, especially for a casual view, but it combines together with bits of delicacy and refinement, an element of such thoughtless arrangement of the drapery, that it is impossible to think highly of the artistic powers of its sculptor. He had skill, no doubt, but lacked the temper of quiet contemplation, without which even the most skilled are not artists in the full sense of the word.

The figure is seated, but below and at her left side her

[1] For Aphrodite statues of the fourth century see Plates 103 and 108. [2] See picture in Helbig, p. 424. [3] For such a body see Plate 73.

drapery is carved as if it were swept by the winds. This gives a feeling of restlessness[1] to the statue, painfully conspicuous to all who have become familiar with the best Greek works. The folds on the upper part of the figure are almost obtrusively skilful, the sharp line running from the left breast down to the center of the waist line being the acme of studied mastery over the material.[2] The same is true of the two small bulging folds below the left breast immediately over the himation.

The piece of marble of which this figure is carved is very beautiful, of a mellow light yellow color, so that it is justly admired. Historically the statue belongs to the Græco-Roman eclectic and imitative sculptor. The fluttering drapery[3] near the left leg is probably copied from a statue, where it was no doubt in place, while the transparent garment on the upper part of the body, which ill agrees with the motive of the figure wearing two garments, is taken from another statue, and the disposition of the limbs and the general pose of the figure from still another.

PLATE 320. Statue of Woman. Of marble. Museum, Boston. Date and place of discovery not published. Reports of the Trustees of the Museum, 1901, p. 35 (Robinson).

This statue is designed for only one view, the one seen in the photograph. From all other points of view, especially those from its left side, the statue is inharmonious in composition and unsatisfactory in modelling. Its back is perfectly flat. Copyists and adapters often work in this fashion. The folds of the drapery are extremely studied in effect and fail to

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[1] Contrast this with the seated figure, Plate 434. [2] Such details do not appear well in a photograph. [3] For such folds see Amelung's article, referred to above. The writer cannot accept Amelung's conclusion that the statues exhibiting them date late in the fifth century.

please. This is especially true of the folds enveloping the right arm, and the concentric and therefore monotonous folds from the right breast down to the left thigh. The more this part of the drapery is noticed, the less real is its appearance, for it is out of keeping with the idea of an ample outer shawl (*himation*) pulled over an under *chiton*, both of which are heavy enough to fall in thick folds about the neck. Such a mixture of motives is again characteristic of the copyist.

Unique in ancient sculpture is the position of the right arm of the figure and the attention paid to the wrist action of the right hand. Judging by the wealth of extant statues with arms hanging loose at the sides, the Greeks never perceived the peculiar charm of the curve of the wrist.[1] Two of the best statues to illustrate this point are the "Idolino," Plate 123, and the "Apollo," Plate 127. The sculptors[2] of the Italian Renaissance are supposed to have been the first to pay attention to the individuality of the action of the wrist. Seeing it expressed, therefore, in the statue in Boston, one is subject to doubts as to the genuineness of the statue. Forgers to-day are very skilful. They may find it difficult to imitate masterpieces of the great artists, but they are well able to imitate the style of the inconsistent later copyists or adapters. The only way of successfully combating such doubts is to *prove* that the statue is genuine. This, however, cannot be done unless the place and date of discovery of the statue are published.

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[1] In many grave reliefs gestures unlike those of the best statues are seen, and consequently also many pronounced bends of the hand at the wrist. Nowhere, however, is there an indication of special delight taken in beautiful wrist-actions.

[2] Notably Donatello and Michelangelo.

The So-called School of Pasiteles.

PLATE 321. Statue of a Youth by Stephanos. Of marble. Villa Albani, Rome. Discovered in Rome in 1769. Restorations: the upper part of the skull, part of the fillet, the curls on the forehead, the end of the nose, the right arm, the front of the left forearm, the front of the right foot, the toes of the left foot except the little toe, and a large part of the plinth. Helbig, 744, with bibliography; F. W., 225; Reinach II, 588, 9. See also Charles Waldstein, *J. H. S.*, XXIV, 1904, pp. 129ff. For the copy of this statue in the group of "Orestes and Elektra," see the Naples copy, Reinach I, 506, 4; for the other copy see Plate 323. The inscription reads: "Stephanos, pupil of Pasiteles, made (this statue)."

PLATE 322. "Orestes and Elektra." Group by Menelaos. Of marble. Terme, formerly Villa Ludovisi, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. The group was in the Villa Ludovisi as early as 1623. Restorations: on "Orestes," the right arm from above the elbow, several fingers of the left hand, the front half of the right foot, the tip of the nose, and a small piece in the top of the head; on "Elektra," the front half of the top of the head, the tip of the nose, the left arm below the sleeve, half of the thumb, the forefinger and little finger of the right hand, and various minor parts. Helbig, 887; F. W., 1560; Robinson, 577; and especially Kekulé, *Gruppe des Künstlers Menelaos*, Reinach I, 506, 6. The inscription reads: "Menelaos, pupil of Stephanos, made (this group)."

PLATE 323. "Orestes and Pylades." Of marble. Louvre, Paris. Put together of a great many fragments. Reinach I, 161, 2.

PLATE 324. The Ildefonso Group. Of marble. Prado, Madrid. Date and place of discovery unknown. Formerly in Villa Ludovisi in Rome, later in the possession of Queen Christine of Sweden, whence it was removed to the castle Ildefonso in Spain. While in this castle the group became generally known. It is now in the Prado Museum in Madrid. Restorations: on the youth with the torch, both arms, parts of the left lower leg and fragments of the wreath; on the other youth, the head (which is antique, but does not belong to the figure),[1] the right

[1] It is one of the many extant replicas of heads of Antinoos.

arm and large parts of the left arm; also several pieces of the altar with the flame and the little draped figure. F. W., 1665; Baumeister, p. 1730; Reinach I, 486, 6.

At a time when every artist independently felt at liberty to copy the achievements of his predecessors, and when many of the works copied belonged to a forgotten age, so that the new productions had the double charm of veiled antiquity and implied originality, no definite school of sculpture could exist. It is, therefore, not surprising that the search through ancient literature has yielded, with one exception, only detached names of artists. This one exception is the school of Pasiteles, a school that by names can be traced through three generations. Of Pasiteles himself no works are extant, but one work each is preserved by his pupil Stephanos, Plate 321, and by Menelaos, the pupil of the latter, Plate 322. To these two works others have been added because they resemble them, and all are called works of the school of Pasiteles.

The title, "School of Pasiteles," is rather ambitious; the more so since the particular statues said to have emanated from it are by no means original creations. This is well seen in the case of one of them, Plate 321, when it is compared with the Apollo from Pompeii, Plate 69. To claim the Apollo statue also for Pasiteles and his followers, as has been done, does not help matters, because there are too many undoubted works[1] of the Transitional Period to show whence the later artists borrowed their type.

The statue by Stephanos, Plate 321, is nevertheless very pleasing. It possesses the charm of modesty, inherent in the halting skill of the Transitional Period, and displays to its best advantage the technique of Stephanos. The "simple model-

[1] See Plates 66ff.

ling of the body" is beautiful; while the absence of over accentuation of the muscular development proved no doubt gratifying to people satiated with looking at exaggerations of anatomically accurate bodies.

A most interesting comparison is made between the Stephanos statue and the Athlete, Plate 66. The broad shoulders of the latter designated him as a boxer. They are copied in the later statue without serving a definite purpose beyond perhaps offering a pleasing view. The rhythm of the lines of the body is changed, chest and abdomen are better modelled, and the proportions of the limbs are lengthened. The head also has been refined; the hair is parted [1] and the fillet pushed further down. All these changes, the writer believes, have combined to make of the self-made athlete and victor a well-groomed aristocrat.

The correspondence between the youth by Stephanos and one of the figures of the group in the Louvre, Plate 323, is so close that the two statues may be looked upon as replicas of the same original. This original, some scholars believe, was made by Pasiteles. The Stephanos inscription, therefore, they consider as of the same kind as that of Antiochos, Plate 99b, recording merely the name of the copyist. Others, however, say Stephanos signed as maker and not as copyist. Certainty on this point is impossible.

The general proportions of the Louvre "Orestes and Pylades" and the underlying idea of grouping two youths together occur again in the much disputed composition, called the Ildefonso group, Plate 324, which, therefore, has been properly brought in connection with them. The more familiar one is with Greek sculpture, the less Greek this group appears. The Greeks liked contrasts; the nude and the drapery, man and

[1] The hair in this statue, to be sure, is restored.

woman, old age and youth. It is doubtful whether it would ever have occurred to them to put like and like together in the endeavor to impress the spectator by their combined appeal. In their poses, moreover, both youths in Madrid repeat earlier types, — the one near the little goddess, the Doryphoros, Plate 113, of the fifth century; the other the "Apollo Sauroktonos," Plate 185, of the fourth century; while in the little idol[1] a still older type — see Plates 25ff. — is preserved. The grouping together of such heterogenous types and the introduction of the necessary changes, as, for instance, the different turn of the head of the figure based on the Doryphoros, unmistakably prove that the Ildefonso group is correctly classed with works of the Græco-Roman eclectic and imitative sculpture. The characteristics of the so-called Pasiteles school are too indistinct to extend with certainty also to the Ildefonso group.

The subject of this group is a serious bone of contention. Formerly when the Antinoos head, restored on one of the figures, was believed to be genuine, the group was brought in connection with one of the many stories told of this favorite[2] of Hadrian. Now it is generally believed to have some bearing on the Thanatos[3] myth. The greatest difficulty to the interpretation consists in the fact that it cannot be determined whether the youth is lighting his torch from the fire of the altar[4] or trying to extinguish it on the altar.[5] In the one case he may be a mourner at a funeral, ready with averted face to ignite the funeral pyre;[6] in the other case he may be Thanatos, the spirit of Death. Wolters compares him with the

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[1] For a similar idol see Plate 205. [2] See below Plates 415ff. [3] Thanatos is the spirit of death. [4] This is the interpretation of Baumeister, p. 1730. [5] This is the interpretation of Wolters, F. W., 1665. [6] Compare Virgil's *Æneid* VI, 224, *aversi tenuere facem.*

Eros Centocelle, Plate 189, who also probably held an inverted torch in his hand. Whatever subject the artist thought of portraying, he has not made his meaning clear. Nor could this be otherwise; for the man who copies his types, and whose original part in the work consists only in adapting them to his own conception, will invariably fail to imbue them sufficiently with his idea to have them easily understood.

The same is true also of the so-called "Orestes and Elektra" by Menelaos in Rome, Plate 322, where it is impossible to state whether the youth is arriving or preparing to leave, receiving admonition, or imparting important information. A great many interpretations, therefore, have been offered; none, however, to universal or even partial satisfaction. Only the suggestion of Wolters,[1] that no definite moment is intended to be portrayed, deserves attention. He believes that the group may have served as a grave monument, designed to convey the affection between the older woman and the younger man, one of whom had died.

The type of the woman is not unlike — although less beautiful — than that of the matron, Plate 208, while the youth partakes of the characteristics of numberless male standing figures extant from Roman times. He appears younger than the woman only because he is smaller. Two independent figures, therefore, are grouped together, so that it is not astonishing that it is impossible to determine their relationship.

Judged as monumental works, both groups in Rome and in Madrid are very satisfactory. The artists have shown fine feeling for composition and delicacy of temper. The maker of the Ildefonso group is unknown; the other has signed himself proudly "the pupil of Stephanos." Stephanos, who himself boasted of his connection with Pasiteles, may have

[1] F. W., 1560.

inherited and passed on to his successor some of the fame of his master. The grounds on which Pasiteles was praised are mentioned by Pliny,[1] who says that he made many works, of which, however, only few were known even by name in his time (about one hundred years later), but that he had written a remarkable work in five volumes on the masterpieces of the world, to which Pliny had had frequent occasion to refer. He made an exact model of every statue he intended to carve or to cast, and supplemented his theoretical studies with modelling from life.[2]

All this implies familiarity with, and admiration for, the works of past ages, coupled with painstaking execution. It makes no mention of originality or even individual importance. Neither Stephanos nor Menelaos improved on Pasiteles. Both were theorists and men of skill. Their statues are pleasant to look at, but they lack that intensity of feeling which marks the genuine Greek work of art.

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[1] See Overbeck, *S. Q.*, 2262ff. [2] This is the inference from the story told by Pliny, according to which Pasiteles once came near losing his life when he made models of wild animals imported from Africa.

Part Eight.

Etruscan and Roman National Art.

Etruscan Art.

The most assiduous investigations of the last century have not been able to untangle the mystery that attaches to everything Etruscan. The people, their speech, their government and their art are alike beyond the scope of our knowledge. The few gleams of light that scattered discoveries have shed on this dark page of history have made us only the more anxious to read it, for they have proved that Etruscan antiquities deserve serious attention.

Etruscan art, it seems, was the prose of ancient art life, just as Greek art was its poetry. Soberness of thought, in contrast to divine inspiration, marks the few extant remains of Etruria. This is best seen in the clay sarcophagus[1] from Caere in the British Museum. The bronze Chimaera, Plate 325a, stands under Greek influence, while the so-called Etruscan Minerva, Plate 330, is probably wholly Greek. The "Etruscan Orator," Plate 327, treats a subject familiar to Roman art, but is so sober in execution that it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion concerning it.

[1] For a picture of this sarcophagus, see Knackfuss-Zimmermann I, p. 281, fig. 223.

Roman Art.

The beginnings of Roman art are as obscure as those of Etruscan art. For years Roman sculpture has been considered to be "nothing but the last chapter of the long history of Greek art — in fact, a sort of decadent anti-climax." Recently the injustice of this view has begun to dawn upon those who have taken pains to study this art.

The Romans were a practical people, and not only skilful in solving difficult problems on whatever field, but also glad to exercise their ingenuity in so doing. The art of architecture fared best at their hands, and although the Greeks were the inventors of some of the most beautiful decorative schemes, architecture as such and its various architectural problems were first solved by the Romans. The grandeur of some of their buildings is impressive, not only because these buildings are eminently well adapted to the needs which they are designed to meet, but also because their masses are so well distributed that they please the eye.

A people that craved beauty almost as much as serviceability in its monumental buildings, cannot be stigmatized as void of the sense of beauty because it created little in the art of sculpture. Good sculpture is not to be had for the asking. The very simplicity of its spirit shrinks from the contact with those whose life is swayed by a multitude of complex emotions. Such people may have skill, but they are seldom, if ever, privileged to feel the force of great and noble ideas such as add worth to a piece of carved marble or cast bronze.

Sculpture, moreover, in Roman times had to serve an ulterior end, that of glorification. The subject was given and the expression of individual ideas forbidden. Those Romans — and there were many — whose culture enabled them to

perceive ideas that are best conveyed by bodily representation, surrounded themselves with Greek statues, originals if they could procure them, or copies, of which there was a large supply.

The glorification of the emperors in reliefs or statues kept the artists busy; for such monuments were erected not only in Rome, but in many other places of the extensive empire. The reliefs [1] were generally designed to tell graphically some event of importance. In many cases they were leaves of history written in pictures. They were by their very nature not intended to convey ideas which defy words, but, on the contrary, to illustrate accounts which had passed from mouth to mouth until their every detail had become known to every one. It was, therefore, impossible for the artists to make their selections; the spectators would look for this or that incident in their combinations, however incapable of artistic treatment it might be.

If these limitations are understood and taken for granted, the way is clear for the admiration of those other qualities which distinguish many of the Roman reliefs as the works of thoughtful men. The arrangement of the figures and the distribution of masses is often exceedingly fine. The incidents are clearly and vigorously told, the whole representation is straightforward, rarely open to misunderstandings, and generally refined in diction. Greek historical reliefs, the frieze of the Athene-Nike temple in Athens for instance, Plate 169, please the lover of beauty, but are of no help to the student of history. Roman reliefs constitute some of the chief sources of our knowledge of Roman events.

The portraits of the emperors and other famous men are the second class of sculpture in which the Romans did original

[1] An excellent treatise of Roman reliefs is by Edmund Courbaud, *Le Bas-Relief Romain, Representations Historiques*, Paris, 1899.

work. And this class is by far the most important. The artists were fortunate in their subjects, for never has a country boasted of such an array of powerful men, each one supreme by his own individuality, as Rome. At first these men were ruled by virtue, and later by vice or a perplexing mixture of both, but at all times they were men of passion. The quiet gamut of respectable emotions had no attraction for them.

The features of the Romans were pronounced, every head being almost a caricature; for most of them lacked the noble blending of the Greek type. While this, it is true, made it easy to carve good likenesses, it offered the temptation to exaggerate. That the sculptors rarely yielded to it reveals them as artists of considerable worth. In portraiture, in fact, they have rarely been surpassed. They not only perpetuated the outward appearance, but also suggested the spirit of life and the character of their sitters.

Sculpture in Rome received its stimulus from its contact with the art life of Greece and her colonies. The fall of Syracuse in 212 B. C. gave the Romans their first acquaintance[1] with the splendor of the Hellenic civilization; for Marcellus carried away with him to Rome many pictures and statues. Other generals followed his example. Capua was despoiled of its art treasures in 210 B. C., and Tarentum in 209 B. C. The mainland of Greece yielded its first booty in 197 B. C., when T. Quinctius Flamininus sent so many objects to Rome to be carried in his triumphal procession that it took two days to pass all of them through the streets of the capital. Quantity hereafter was as desirable as quality. One general[2] brought with him two hundred and eighty-five bronze statues and two hundred and thirty marble statues, while another[3] had need of

[1] The Conquest of Campagna, which had taken place much earlier, had given the Romans a chance to know Greek art, but they do not seem to have taken much interest in it then. [2] M. Fulvius Nobilior. [3] Æmilius Paullus.

two hundred and fifty wagons to cart his booty of Greek pictures and statues in triumphal procession through the streets of Rome. In 146 B. C. Greece was conquered and made a Roman province. From this time on a regular traffic in art objects took place, not to mention the shiploads of statues that were sent to Rome by the generals and governors.

The part taken by the Romans in the creation of new statuary during the first century and a half after their first intimate acquaintance with Greek art in 212 B. C. is very uncertain. Some scholars believe it consisted only in copying earlier works. This, however, is hardly credible in view of the fact that in later times the Romans were sufficiently skilled to carve excellent portraits and good historical reliefs. The subjects continued to be largely Greek; the execution, however, may be credited with equal justice to both Greeks and Romans. Unwilling to enter into the merits of either case, most writers speak of works supposed to date later than the middle of the second century before Christ as Græco-Roman. A few such works were discussed in Part VII of this Handbook, where it was noted that it may be wise to detach several statues from the preceding groups and add them to the list of Græco-Roman works.

The last years of the Republic yielded some good portraits, but Roman national sculpture proper had its rise with the empire.

The first period of this sculpture is characterized by elegance, refinement of thought, and beauty of execution. Much is idealized. It is the age of Augustus. In the next period, which is at its best under Trajan, realism is aimed at. Artists strive to reproduce the appearance of things, and they succeed. Some critics have called them illusionists. The ways, however, of good sculptors and of illusionists soon part, so that the age of Hadrian already marks a decline.

Hadrian himself was an art collector of importance. His villa[1] has yielded statues of almost all styles and periods, but, strangely enough, not one archaic or archaistic statue. But his apparently great love for the creations of the past seems to have rendered him unable to appreciate the efforts of his contemporaries. These, incapable of withdrawing from the realistic influences of their age, but anxious to make allowances to the imperial taste, executed with minute care figures designed to impress by pictorial realism rather than by form, and by thus mixing two incompatible styles paved the way for future decline.

How low the art of sculpture could sink in the next generations is shown by those reliefs of the Arch of Constantine which are not taken from earlier monuments, Plate 347c. The poverty of these reliefs is the more remarkable as the arch itself is impressive and far from showing any decline in the art of architecture. From the first to the last architecture[2] was the art of the Romans, just as sculpture[3] had been the art of the Greeks.

PLATE 325a. Chimaera. Of bronze. Archæological Museum, Florence. Discovered near Arezzo in 1554. Restorations: the left

[1] See Hermann Winterfeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli*, which contains a list of works of art found there.

[2] Wickhoff, *Roman art*, takes a different view. He has, more carefully than anyone before him, investigated the Roman temper in respect to the graphic arts. His conclusions are not generally accepted, and the writer himself cannot agree with him. Wickhoff, however, deserves the credit of having treated for the first time in detail a subject, the difficulty of which has deterred most investigators. A second attempt may prove more acceptable, and promises better success because of the pioneer work done by Wickhoff. For specific refutations of some of his views see Theodor Schreiber, *Jahrbuch* XI, 1896, pp. 78ff. [3] And perhaps painting.

front and hind legs, the snake, the end of the right horn and beard of the goat. Amelung, 247; Reinach II, 695, 4.

The Chimaera of ancient mythology was a creation of the fancy of the story-teller rather than of the artist. Lion, goat and snake may be combined in one fearful animal in the imagination, but cannot be joined together in bodily forms without losing much force, or running the risk of appearing ridiculous. The goat element offered the greatest difficulty, and one which is hardly successfully solved by adding the goat's head and neck to the back of the Chimaera. Goat and snake were ancient symbols of the thunderstorm, and the aigis of the Greeks at first probably was a goatskin, surrounded by writhing snakes. It was the attribute of Zeus and of Athena as goddess of the air. Apollo is said to have shaken it in the face of the Gauls[1] when his sanctuary, Delphi, was threatened by them. Later the aigis came to be looked upon as a weapon of protection, a kind of shield.

The formidable Chimaera was the dangerous foe of Bellerophon riding through the air on the winged horse Pegasus. The Florence bronze shows a wound in the neck of the goat,[2] so that the struggle with Bellerophon must be supposed to be in progress. This explains the attitude of the monster and its fury.

An Etruscan inscription appears on the right foreleg. What it contains is beyond our power to know, because no key has yet been found to the Etruscan language.[3] Perhaps it might offer an indication as to the origin of the bronze. Without being able to make use of it, most scholars to-day believe that this Chimaera is a Greek work. In Sikyon, the Greek home

[1] See E. von Mach, p. 315. [2] Not seen in the photograph. [3] A few inscriptions, especially those containing names, have, it is true, been deciphered. The best book is Corssen, *Sprache der Etrusker*.

of bronze casting, Bellerophon was worshipped, for the neighboring Korinth was his birthplace. The coins of both cities and their colonies often contain pictures of the Chimaera, and the lion's head of the Florence bronze is not unlike Greek lions of the middle of the fifth century before Christ. In the absence of accurate knowledge of contemporary Etruscan art, it is, however, impossible to declare with certainty that this Chimaera is not an Etruscan work.

PLATE 325b. The Wolf of the Capitol. Of bronze. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Known to have stood in front of the Lateran Palace in Rome as early as the tenth century of the Christian era, and removed to the Capitol[1] in 1471. Restorations: the lions and, according to Helbig, so many parts everywhere that it is difficult to say what is ancient and what is modern, except the head and neck, which are undoubtedly ancient. Helbig, 618; Robinson, 557; Reinach II, 728, 4.

The wolf nursing Romulus and Remus was not always represented as the kind mother, but sometimes as the wild beast at bay. Thus she is known from several coins[2] and since she generally is looking toward the children when she is represented as nursing them, Helbig with much probability suggests that the Capitoline bronze has received an erroneous addition in the twins. If this is the case, the current identification of this statue with the one mentioned in ancient literature[3] as erected

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[1] The Palazzo dei Conservatori is also known as the New Capitoline Museum. [2] Helbig II, 460, fig. 30, gives one of these coins; see also the wall painting from Pompeii, *Century Magazine*, February, 1905, picture facing p. 598. [3] Livy X, 23, says, *et ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorium urbis sub uberibus lupæ posuerunt*, which, translated, reads, "and they placed near the Ruminal fig-tree the images of the infant founders of the city under the breast of the wolf." Robinson understands this to mean, "that the children were added to a figure that already stood there." Such an interpretation, however, takes no account of the ablative after *sub*; and while there is a possi-

near the sacred fig-tree in Rome in 295 B. C. is wrong. It is so also for another reason, which Helbig presses perhaps with too much vigor. The wolf seems to him to be too archaic to have been erected in 295 B. C., when the Romans were already in possession of Campagna, and therefore able to know Hellenistic and Hellenic art. It must, however, be remembered that we have no information as to the Romans having become interested in Greek art as early as 295 B. C. The first Greek spoils of works of art entered Rome in 212 B. C.

If it is, therefore, impossible to assign a date to this wolf, unfamiliar as we are with the beginnings of Roman sculpture. This statue is nevertheless extremely interesting as showing the straightforward, matter-of-fact tendencies of the Romans, potent as well in the beginning as in the prime of their art.

PLATE 326. Camillus. Of bronze. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown. It was removed to the Capitol, perhaps from the Lateran Museum, by Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484). Helbig, 607; F. W., 1561; Reinach II, 502, 4. For many replicas of the statue see Reinach, *s. v.* Camille. Compare also the standing figure in the frontispiece.

Camillus, a word of doubtful etymology, is the Roman designation for a high-born attendant at a sacrifice. It is also more loosely used of any unmarried boy of good family. Boys like the one of the Roman bronze are often seen in reliefs[1] of sacrifices, so that this one is generally understood to

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bility, to be sure, of correctly using *sub* with the ablative instead of the more logical accusative in the meaning of placing something under something else, there can be no doubt as to the passage as a whole. It refers to the entire group, wolf and children, and not only to the children.

[1] Similar figures are seen in the relief, Baumeister IV, p. 1713, and in the frontispiece.

be the attendant at a sacrifice. As such he ought to carry sacrificial implements. These, however, have not been preserved either with this statue or any of its replicas. Perhaps, therefore, the artist did not intend to portray a definite incident, but simply to perpetuate one of the most pleasing types known to him.

Basing his work on those of the fifth century of Greek art, the sculptor has yet succeeded in preserving his individuality. He is far from being a copyist. The modesty of the well-born youth is excellently reflected in the severity of the artist's style, while the immediateness of the boy's presence is suggested, in spite of his idealized face, by the almost haphazard fall of the folds of his drapery. A comparison of this statue with the Amazons, Plate 118ff., is very instructive.

The date of this statue, which treats an undoubtedly Roman subject, is uncertain. It seems impossible earlier than the time when the Romans had become familiar with Greek art and had learned to appreciate it. How long it took them to do this after Greek statues had begun to pour into Rome in the second century before Christ we do not know. The vigorous spontaneity of this Camillus is unlike the studied refinement of the art of Augustus or the realism of the next period. It has, therefore, been dated in the prime of the republic, but whether earlier or later than the turn of the century (100 B. C.) is indeterminable.

PLATE 327. Orator. Of bronze. Archæological Museum, Florence. Discovered in 1566 near the Trasimenian Lake. Restorations: the right arm, which was broken, has been joined. The eyes are lost. Amelung, 249; Reinach I, 452, 2. The lower hem of the cloak contains an inscription which Corssen[1] interprets to mean that this is the statue of Metilius, erected in his honor by his widow, Aulese Clensi, and made by the bronze-caster, Tenine Tuthines.

[1] Corssen, *Sprache der Etrusker* I, pp. 712ff.

The soberness of this statue is most apparent when it is compared with the decorative charm of most Roman statues, which in this respect are generally far more influenced by Greek art. No superfluous details are permitted to detract attention from the person here portrayed. The skill of the artist is considerable, as is best seen in the gesture [1] of the right hand,[2] which taken together with the upward tilt of the head, forcefully suggests the powerful address of Metilius. To this idea everything is sacrificed, and no attempt has been made to make the lines of the figure rhythmical and pleasing by balancing the raised right arm with a prominent left arm. Truthfully and almost prosaically the artist has told his story, unconcerned about the appearance of his work so long as it was intelligible.

PLATE 328. Togatus Sacrificing. Of marble. Vatican, Rome. Date and place of discovery unknown, formerly in the Giustiniani collection at Venice, acquired for the Vatican under Pope Clement XIV (1769–1774). Restorations; the nose, the parts of the toga adjoining the cheeks, the right forearm with the cup, and the left hand. The head was broken and is by some believed not to belong to the statue. Helbig, 330; F. W., 1677; Robinson, 558; Reinach I, 451, 7. For similar figures in relief, see Plate 331b and Baumeister III, p. 1713. For a similar statue see Reinach I, 583, 2, the statue of Hadrian in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

"This is the finest toga statue extant," says Helbig, "and it is well adapted to convey an idea of the impressive dignity lent by the toga[3] when arranged in the prescribed manner, to a tall

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[1] Similar gestures in modern statues often are failures, *e. g.*, the statue of Edward Everett in the Public Gardens in Boston. [2] The hand, which was the nearest object to the camera, has become over large in the picture. [3] For a description of the toga and the several ways of wearing it, see Baumeister, *s. v.* Toga, III, pp. 1822ff.

and well proportioned figure, both by its voluminousness and by its large folds." As was customary in sacrifices, this Roman stands *capite velato*, that is, he has drawn his toga over his head. Virgil[1] says this was done in order to concentrate the attention of the worshipper on his intercourse with the gods and to remove all danger of outward disturbance. The ordinary way of wearing the toga appears in the London statue, Plate 329b. Compared with this figure, the Vatican Togatus gains much; for the execution of his drapery "is masterly, and in spite of the number of folds reproduced by the sculptor, the effect is both clear and calm."[2]

PLATE 329a. "Thusnelda." Of marble. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. Date and place of discovery unknown. Restorations: the lower right arm, the finger of the left hand, the nose and several minor details. Amelung, 6; F. W., 1563; Reinach II, 507, 7.

This statue bears a strong resemblance to other extant statues of northern barbarians with whom the Romans had come in fierce contact. The garment, the bare breast, and the long hair agree with the Roman descriptions of the Germans, so that this statue may be looked upon as typifying the

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[1] Æneid III, 405–407.

Ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum
Hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.

[2] Mr. F. J. Scott, *Portraitures of Julius Cæsar*, and *Portraits of Julius Cæsar, the Scott Collection. A Brief Description*, No. 4, claims this statue as a possible portrait of Cæsar in the same breath as he doubts its being an antique. He advances no arguments, but says, "I do not know what reason there is for supposing it to be an antique." Excellent reasons are its style, which is fundamentally different from that of Michelangelo, to whose time Scott would assign the statue; and its marble, which probably is Pentelic and certainly of a variety never known to have been used by the Italians.

women of that race. The fact that no attempt at portraiture is noticeable, disposes of the popular name of this figure as Thusnelda.

The column-like stability of the statue suggests that it originally formed a part of an architectural scheme. The artist, however, has shown his skill in turning such a limitation to good advantage. The pose of the woman is expressive of controlled sorrow, which is also seen in her face; while, on the other hand, it indicates the lesser grace in movements and poses with which the Romans credited the people of the Northern races.

To the modern taste, accustomed to the fierce and passionate portrayal of emotions, the Florence statue may seem weak. One glance, however, at the Maiden, Plate 166, reveals how clearly this woman has been characterized as a barbarian mourning the lost independence of her race.

Recently[1] this statue has been called "Medea," because of a seeming resemblance to paintings of Medea[2] meditating the murder of her children. The characteristic garment of the statue and its correspondence with undoubted statues of barbarians seems to dispose of this interpretation.

PLATE 329b. Togatus. Of marble. British Museum, London. Date and place of discovery unknown; formerly probably in the Arundell Collection. Restorations: the nose, the ears, part of the neck, the left hand with the roll of manuscript, and many small pieces of the drapery. *British Museum Catalogue*, 1943; Reinach II, 617, 4.

This statue, undoubtedly the portrait of an unknown man, is interesting chiefly as showing the mode of wearing the toga in

[1] Milchhöfer 42. *Berliner Winckelmanns program*, p. 37.

[2] For pictures of these paintings see Baumeister II, p. 875, and Springer-Michaelis I, p. 173.

the ordinary walks of life. It differs, therefore, from the statue, Plate 328, where the garment is pulled over the head, as was customary at sacrifices.

The massive folds are here less well treated than in the Vatican statue, but even their excessive prominence cannot disguise the dignity of appearance of a Roman gentleman. Compared with the "Thusnelda" on the same plate, the pose of the Roman indicates the grace of movement that characterized the classic people in contrast to the barbarians.

PLATE 330. Minerva, Commonly Called Etruscan. Of bronze. Archæological Museum, Florence. Discovered together with the Chimaera, Plate 325a, near Arezzo in 1554. Restorations: the right arm, the entire lower part of the body from below the hips, with the exception of the feet, which are antique. Amelung, 245; Reinach[1] I, 233, 4.

This statue is commonly called Etruscan, probably because it was found near Arezzo, together with the Chimaera, Plate 325a. It may be of Etruscan workmanship, but undoubtedly repeats an earlier Greek type, extant in several replicas,[2] in accordance with which the entire lower part of the figure has been restored. The resemblance of this Athena-Minerva with the muse in the center of the slab of the base of Mantineia, Plate 211, is very interesting. The grace and beauty of that muse were retained when her type was adapted to that of the sterner goddess Athena.

PLATES 331-333 and FRONTISPIECE. Reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augusti. Of marble. The reliefs, Plates 331 and 332, are in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence; those on Plate 333 and the Frontispiece are in the Terme in Rome. Discovered, exact date unknown, in Rome in the place now covered by the Palazzo Ottoboni-Fiano. Restorations: Plate 331, almost all the heads, and the greater part of the feet, which

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[1] The picture in Reinach gives an inverted, or mirror-image of the figure. [2] For pictures see Amelung, figures 45 and 46.

project beyond the plane of the relief; on the other reliefs several minor parts; and on Plate 333 all the parts that were necessary to join the extant fragments. Petersen, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1894, pp. 171ff., and 1895, pp. 138ff.; a monograph, Vienna, 1902, and *Arch. Anz.*, 1903, pp. 182ff.; Amelung, 166; Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, pp. 31ff. See also Helbig, 156. For the most recent discussions see the articles mentioned in the reviews, *A. J. A.*, VII, 1903, p. 479, and VIII, 1904, p. 111. For coins with pictures of the *Ara Pacis*, see *Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.* V., 1902, pp. 153–164.

All these reliefs, and a few more in Vienna, Rome, and Paris, together with many that are lost, once decorated the great Altar of Peace of Augustus, *Ara Pacis Augusti*, erected in his honor by order of the Senate between the years 13 and 9 before Christ.

The altar itself stood in the center of a large square open court, about thirty feet wide and surrounded by a wall approximately twenty feet high, which was pierced by a large door immediately opposite the altar. The wall was profusely decorated both outside and in. A specimen of the scheme of this decoration is given on Plate 333.

In the beauty of its floral patterns the *Ara Pacis* stands unrivalled. Accurate observation of the forms of nature vies with delicate treatment, and throughout a highly artistic temper is shown in the choice and the arrangement of appropriate designs. The completed decoration, however, impresses the spectator, not with warmth of feeling, as the Greek works do, but with what has been called "cold elegance." The intellectual quality of the work which is very apparent is, compared with Greek works, lacking in "divine inspiration."

The procession is well managed and characteristically Roman. The unbridled gaiety of the Parthenon frieze had no place on reliefs portraying the dignified family of Augustus and his suite; nor did Italian artists look with favor on the

allegorical representation of the victories of the Gauls in Pergamon, where the fight of the gods and the giants had been carved in the attempt of showing the importance of the victories. On the *Ara Pacis* real men and women are represented, idealized to a certain extent, but with portrait heads, and in every-day garb.

The large man in the center, Plate 332b, is possibly Augustus. Like the other Roman, Plate 328, he has pulled his toga over his head, preparatory to the sacrifice.

Of the other figures, only a few have been identified, with some probability to be sure, but not with certainty.[1] Livia,[2] his third wife, follows Augustus, and between them is the little Lucius. On the upper slab, Plate 332a, the woman[3] to the left is Antonia, the wife of Drusus, who stands near her. Between them is the little Livia, while Germanicus has laid hold of the mantle of Drusus. Julia, the beautiful daughter of Augustus, stands with veiled head in the center, and Tiberius, with raised right hand, behind her.

Since most of the heads on the other slabs are restored, it is impossible to determine who the people are. Probably they are members of the royal suite and senators of Rome.

The figures in very low relief in the back rows are characteristic of Roman reliefs.[4] In Greek works they are rare.[5] They indicate an astonishing lack of knowledge, or disregard of the principles[6] of relief sculptures, and show such strong affinities to the style of the later gem-cutters that they suggest a stronger influence from this quarter than from Greek relief sculpture.

The artists have well acquitted themselves of the difficult

[1] For detailed identification of the members of the family of Augustus see Domaszewske, *Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.* VI, 1903, pp. 57–66. [2] Compare her with the Livia-Pudicitia, Plate 435. [3] Her nose is restored. [4] See Plate 338. [5] For one such figure see Slab VI of the North Frieze of the Parthenon. [6] See E. von Mach, pp. 37ff.

task of combining a large number of dignified personages, most of them wearing the toga, and of necessity therefore in similar poses, into one long procession, without wearying the spectator or sacrificing the individuality of the figures. Interest in these reliefs does not wane, but grows the more one studies them. When once one has become accustomed to the sight of the many togas, one detects many pleasant details, both in the children and in the grown people. Defects in drawing, to be sure, also appear, generally due to the attempt of connecting the shadow-like figures of the back-ground with those of the foreground. The hand, for instance, laid on the head of the boy behind the so-called Augustus, Plate 332b, is out of proportion with the figure to which it belongs. Similarly awkward is the face of the woman behind the so-called Antonia, Plate 332a, whose garment pulled about her head gives her the appearance of an image seen in a mirror. The disposition of the feet has given the artists the greatest difficulty. A comparison with the Parthenon frieze is here especially interesting. On the *Ara Pacis* every figure has its legs posed and carved without reference to those of its neighbors. The result is a seeming confusion of legs, when the reliefs are studied, not in detail, but in their entirety. On the Parthenon frieze the opposite is the case. Viewed as a whole, there is perfect order; viewed in detail, many a figure seems inaccurate.

The most delicate compositions on the *Ara Pacis* are found in a smaller frieze, which represented the attendants with the victims for the sacrifice, of which the frontispiece reproduces a sample. The rhythm is gayer, the design less restrained, and the modelling of the nude often exquisite. Noteworthy is the pictorial element of the relief, frontispiece, which closely resembles some of the Hellenistic[1] reliefs, Plates 306ff. Even

[1] Wickhoff, as mentioned above, assigns all these reliefs to the Romans.

in these carefully wrought figures[1] the artist has been unable to carve the legs well. The left leg of the standing figure[2] is unpleasant in effect, because it is in too low relief. It follows the same erroneous theories[3] of relief sculpture that are found in the earliest Greek art, and are exhibited in monuments like the Spartan Tombstone, Plate 367a. The whole development of Greek relief sculpture had passed unnoticed. In spite of their technical skill, the Roman artists, when it came to a knowledge of principles, stood where the first Greeks had stood.[4] This is a most remarkable phenomenon, and one which doubtless accounts for the dearth of really beautiful Roman pieces of sculpture.

PLATES 334 and 335. Two Panels from the Arch of Titus. Of marble. In the Forum in Rome. The best account of ancient triumphal arches is by Graef in Baumeister, pp. 1865ff., whose list is corrected by Frothingham, *A. J. A.*, VIII, 1904, pp. 1ff. Philippi, *Ueber die Römischen Triumphal Reliefs*, in *Abhandlungen d. phil., hist., Classe der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* VI., 1872, pp. 271ff., and in *Annali*, 1875, pp. 42ff. *Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.* II, 1899. For the art of the reliefs, see Wickhoff,[5] *Roman Art*, pp. 76ff.

The Arch of Titus was intended to commemorate the triumphs of this emperor over the Jews in 70 A. D. The date of the erection of the arch is unknown, except that it was built after the death of Titus (September 13, 81 A. D.) by his successor, Domitian, who himself died in 96 A. D.

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[1] The left hand of the standing figure is an exception. [2] This figure may be a Camillus, cf. Plate 326. [3] For these theories see E. von Mach, pp. 125ff. and pp. 37ff. [4] This is also true of many modern artists, some of whom even boast of their ignorance of principles. They worship only skill. [5] The writer is unable to accept Wickhoff's discussion as even partially correct. Wickhoff falls a victim to the same fallacy that ensnared the Roman sculptors, namely, that a mixture of painting and sculpture will result, if skilfully done, in good art.

The two large reliefs reproduced on Plates 334 and 335, give evidence of much power on the part of the artist, and indicate that had he better understood the principles of sculpture, his work would have taken rank second to none. The victorious and joyous entrance of the emperor in Rome, and the eager advance of the bearers of his spoils are magnificently conceived. The man in whose honor these monuments were erected was called "the love and delight of the human race" (*amor et deliciæ generis humani*); and, compared with the perfunctory work of many Roman historical reliefs, one feels that here the artist has introduced some of his personal admiration for the man beloved by all.

This of itself adds a worth to these reliefs that is shared by few pieces of Roman sculpture. It is further increased by the successful selection of the moments for representation, both of which are of inherent interest and capable of artistic treatment. The distribution of masses is well managed, with the most prominent objects, the candlestick and the chariot, not in the centers[1] of the compositions, but slightly behind them. This, together with the suggested advance, results in arousing the desired illusion of rapidity, and may be said to be a most successful device. In the relief, Plate 335, this illusion is increased by the representation of the goal — the city gate — toward which the action is taking place.

This gate, on the other hand, marks one of the many serious defects of both reliefs. Perspective is introduced with a persistence out of keeping with the requirements[2] of sculpture and permissible only in painting. This is best seen in the chariot scene, Plate 334. In painting there would not have been an actual background. The winged goddess of victory

[1] For an explanation of this device see the discussion to Plate 338.
[2] See E. von Mach, pp. 37ff. and pp. 127ff.

would have seemed to be descending through the air with as much freedom as she is now restrained by lack of space. The people on either side of the chariot would have been relegated to their proper spheres instead of crowding the chariot, and the poor device of carving heads in such flat relief on the background that the absence of their shadows reveals their unreality would have been avoided. How much the chariot itself has lost by the introduction of the groups of people to the right and left is best seen when it is compared with the Greek relief, Plate 48b.

Barring the city gate, Plate 335, this slab has suffered less from perspective of design than the other. It shares, however, with the other the defect of the faces carved in outline on the background. The same defect was noticed in the *Ara Pacis*[1] *Augusti*, Plates 331ff. It is here especially noticeable, because the heads of the men in the front are now broken away, so that the heads in the back seem to belong to the decapited trunks in front, with which they are out of all proportion.

In defence of the Roman artists, it may be argued that their sculptures were colored ; that they really were paintings accentuated by sculpture. This, however, is but a poor defence, for although color would make the defects of the compositions less glaringly apparent, it would neither remove them nor lessen them for delicate eyes. The fact is, the mixture of painting and sculpture, or rather of designs appropriate for the one art or the other, is never successful. It always leaves something to be desired, however skilfully it is done. And this is the worst defect of art which makes the spectator feel that in spite of everything beautiful something is missing. Gladly and unconsciously one forgives faults which to the

[1] There as here the artists have been unable to carve the legs without resulting confusion.

scrutinizing eye may be no less apparent, but which pass unnoticed because the adequate relation between conception and execution binds the details of the composition together into one satisfactory whole.

Antiquarians, as is well known, delight in this relief, Plate 335, because it has preserved the shapes of the famous seven-armed candlestick of Jerusalem and of the old Roman standards.

In taking a final glance at these reliefs, one is aware of the defects that mar them, but one cannot withhold from them genuine admiration. There is force, there is feeling, and that exquisiteness of artistic temper that sees beauty even in the commonplace. The modelling often is strong and fully as elegant as that on the *Ara Pacis*,[1] but far removed from the coldness which characterized the earlier monument. On the contrary, a genial warmth emanates from these reliefs, singling them out from all other Roman works as eminently worthy of attention and study.

PLATE 336. The Columns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, so-called "Column of Antonine." Rome. The best books on the Column of Trajan are W. Fröhner, *La Colonne Trajane;* Conrad Cichorius (first part published in 1896); and E. Petersen, *Trajan's Dakische Kriege nach dem Säulenrelief erzählt* (1899). The standard book on the Column of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus is *Die Markus Säule* by E. Petersen, A von Domaszewski and G. Calderini. For reliefs from this column, see Plate 344. For a discussion of the reliefs of the column of Trajan, see F. W., 1926–1936.

The column of Trajan commemorated the victory of this emperor over the Dacians. The reliefs are history written in pictures. Like a spiral band they encircle the column, growing larger toward the top, so that they may appear more clearly

[1] See especially the frontispiece.

to the eye; for the height of the column is more than one hundred feet. On the top stood the statue[1] of the emperor himself. There are more than twenty-five hundred human figures in the reliefs and a proportionately large number of animals, trees, houses, and the like. It is, therefore, no wonder that the casual observer is perplexed and unable to understand their meaning. If, however, the pictures are studied in detail, all confusion disappears, and the whole eventful campaign against the Dacians is seen represented with a wealth of detail, and told so clearly and simply that no written history could have given a better account of it.

Wolter's summary (F. W., p. 765) is by far the best of any modern commentary. He says, "In spite of the tremendous extent and the similarity of all the events represented, monotony and repetition are happily avoided. On the contrary, much variety is given by mixing with the fierce scenes of warfare some tenderer subjects, such as the care of the wounded, and the grief of the Dacians at the premature death of some of their young heroes. The artist had an open eye for things human. To be true, and to appear to be so, was his chief aim. He, therefore, neither embellished nor omitted to tell the cruel deeds of war. This makes of the column a living, true and faithful history of the war, such as does not exist anywhere else. But it is just this longing to be clear and accurate that has induced the artist to stoop to many reprehensible tricks. He carves fortresses, villages, huts, and the like to show their plans and elevations; but, in order to do this, he had to design them unnaturally small and often in faulty perspective. Such defects might pass unnoticed in a more childish, more academic mode of art; but here, where complete mastery of form is shown they are disturbing, unpleasant. The

[1] This statue has been lost, and that of a saint been substituted.

reliefs do not rise from the matter-of-fact to the loftier plane of inspired artistic representation. They are prosaic, mere chronicles, and, although they are able to arouse interest, they do not stimulate. . . . The modelling is not delicate, a defect which may, however, be pardoned, in view of the magnitude of the work, and the height at which the figures are seen."

The column of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus is modelled after the column of Trajan. The style of the reliefs, however, is less fresh. The defects of the earlier work are found in them in larger numbers, while the chief charm of that work, its spontaneity and perspicuity, is lacking. Their modelling is less delicate — often actually crude and unpleasant.

PLATE 337. Reliefs in the Forum, Rome. Of marble. Discovered in 1872. Best summary of all discussions and complete bibliography is an essay by Miss A. S. Jenkins, *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, pp. 58ff.

Two marble screens, 1.75 m. high and 5.37 m. long,[1] were found in the Forum in Rome in 1872. The relief of the Suovetaurilia, Plate 337a, that is, sacrifice of the pig (*sus*) and sheep (*ovis*) and bull (*taurus*), is the same on the inner sides of both screens. The subjects on the outer sides are different. Plate 337b represents that of the western screen.

There has been much discussion of the date when these screens were made, and the man in whose honor they were erected. Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian are mentioned, but Trajan's claim[2] seems to have most in its favor. The scene on the western screen, Plate 337b, is believed to have reference to "one of the most popular acts of Trajan's reign, and one which was commemorated on an arch, as well as by coins and inscriptions — the enlargement (amounting practically to

[1] The second screen lacks the corner block. [2] For a discussion of these claims see the article by Miss Jenkins referred to above.

the founding) of the system of alimentation begun on a small scale by Nerva. The large number of coins which refer to this system of relief, as well as the fact that it was mentioned on a triumphal arch, show the great interest which it had for the people." From the Rostra,[1] the speaker's platform in the Forum, the emperor appears to be making the declaration. The people in front are raising their arms in joyful approval, while in the center the emperor appears again, seated like a god[2] on a raised platform, while in front of him stands the allegorical figure of a woman in Greek garb, holding a child in her arms, and probably leading another by her right hand. This group doubtless is intended to show the emperor as introducing by his benevolent act the goddess of Plenty into Rome.

The fig-tree[3] and the statue of Marsyas, both famous landmarks, designate the place as the Forum. Both are surrounded by square enclosures, which to-day, when the color that told the story has faded, appear to be bases.[4]

The background of both reliefs contains buildings and columns. The attempt to identify them with definite buildings on the Forum has not been entirely successful.

The state of preservation of these screens makes it difficult to discuss their style, except in reference to their general design. The western screen, Plate 337b, is the more interesting of the two, and is extremely clever. The masses are well bal-

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[1] The present theory is that these screens once formed part of the Rostra. [2] Compare him with Asklepios, Plate 241, and notice the greater skill of the Greek artist in casting his figure in pleasing lines. [3] The Ruminalian fig-tree where the wolf with Romulus and Remus was erected in 295 B. C. See the discussion to Plate 325b. [4] They are explained as enclosures by Hülsen, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1892, p. 287. Miss Jenkins' arguments against this view, *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, p. 77, are not convincing.

anced, and unity, at least in appearance, is preserved in spite of the double[1] incidents which the artist desired to portray. Studied in detail, the poses of a number of figures are too studied to be lifelike, while the introduction of a local background, and the mixture of reality in the group to the left, and allegory in the group in the center, show that this artist, like all his compatriots, either did not know the limitations of the art of sculpture, or believed that he could transgress them with impunity. Considering, however, the fact that he was expected to carve a memento of actual events, a task which does not lend itself to an artistic treatment, he must be said to have acquitted himself well.

PLATE 338. Reliefs from the Triumphal Arch of Trajan in Beneventum. For the literature on triumphal arches see above, the discussion to Plate 334. For the political importance of the reliefs from Beneventum see A. von Domaszewski, *Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.* II, 1899, pp. 173ff.

The date of this arch is 114 A. D. Both reliefs, Plate 338, are taken from the inner archway, and represent the distribution of victuals to the Romans, Plate 338a, and Trajan sacrificing to Jupiter, Plate 338b. Trajan on this slab appears with the toga over his head[2] like Augustus, Plate 332b. It is, therefore, interesting to compare these two reliefs. The shadowy figures on the background in Florence have here assumed definite shapes by crowding the figures in front and raising the relief in which those further back are carved until their heads — their only visible parts — stand out boldly. Wherever space permitted, silhouettes were introduced still

[1] Ghiberti, on his bronze gates in Florence, was equally skilful in combining more than one scene in every one of his panels. [2] See also the statue, Plate 328.

further back, so that the crowd seemed to extend not only from left to right, but also from the front to the back. This seeming mass of people is well handled. It is broken up in pleasing groups, three standing near the emperor and three others behind these. All are looking toward the emperor, who thus becomes the center of the design, although he does not hold the center of the composition. This was desirable,[1] for going through the arch, the spectator could keep his eye on the most important person uninterruptedly until he had almost passed the arch.

In both reliefs, Plates 338a and b, the existence of an actual background is denied, while space, air, has been substituted. The applied color, now lost, may once have assisted the desired illusion. It indicates that here also the sculptor did not know the limitations of his art. He was a painter rather than a sculptor, and forgot to reckon with the actual shadows of figures carved in bold relief. On the slab, Plate 338a, this defect is most apparent, because the heads of the men in front are lost and the heads of the back row combine in a weird fashion with the trunks in front.

The perfect order of both compositions deserves high praise, while the treatment of individual figures is equally admirable. They are made subservient to the idea of the whole, but are, when studied by themselves, not void of interest. A few excellent portrait heads, especially those in low relief Plate 338a reveal the real force of the artist.

PLATE 339. Trajan and his Suite. Of marble. Lateran Museum, Rome. Discovered, together with three fragments of a frieze probably in the reign of Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) near the Forum of Trajan in Rome. Restorations: the head of the emperor

[1] Cf. above Plates 334 and 335.

(the second figure from the right) and the head of the smaller figure immediately behind him, also the right hand of the emperor. Helbig, 627.

The fact that this relief was found near the Forum of Trajan and that its style conforms [1] to the age of that emperor has induced the restorer, who is said to have been Thorwaldsen, to add to the figure of the emperor the portrait head of Trajan, while he has given the head of Hadrian to the young man behind him.

The grouping of the figures is done with exquisite skill, so that one takes pleasure in contemplating them, not to speak of the interest which one takes in the strong, clean-cut faces. The customary Roman mistake of carving faces in extremely low relief on the background is here less patent, although not absent; it is most noticeable in the bearded face to the left.

PLATE 340. Two Reliefs probably of the Age of Hadrian. Of marble. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. These reliefs once decorated a triumphal arch near the church of S. Lorenzo, known as the Arco di Portogallo. This arch was removed to widen the Corso in 1662, and the reliefs were transferred to the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The restorations on Plate 340 are very numerous. They include the head, the right forearm and the left hand of the principal figure; the noses and right forearms of the bearded men behind the emperor; and also the right arm and spear of the lower of the two; the front part of the face of the boy; the end of the nose, the right forearm and the fingers of the left hand, but not the thumb of the young man; the tip of the nose of the beardless man in the background; and some fragments of the temple. The restorations on Plate 340b include: the head and neck of the empress borne to heaven; almost all the right wing, the left forearm, and most of the torch of the winged figure; the upper part of the head with the ear and wreath, the nose, and the fin-

[1] Compare it with Plate 337b.

gers of the right hand of the emperor; the nose, the upper lip, and the right hand of the young man seated in front of the pyre. Helbig, 550 and 549.

The Korinthian temple in the background, Plate 340b, which was believed to have reference to Marcus Aurelius (see Plate 344) induced the restorer to give to the modern head of the chief figure the features of that emperor. Owing to this mistake, the likeness of the head on the other relief, Plate 340b, of which only the top is modern, passed unnoticed for years. It is a head of Hadrian.[1] In consequence it may be assumed that both reliefs and the arch which they once adorned date from his reign.

In the relief, Plate 340b, Hadrian decrees the apotheosis, that is, the divine honors, of an empress,[2] who at once is borne from her funeral pyre by the genius of Eternity to take her place among the gods in heaven. The reclining figure may be the personification of the Campus Martius, where the corpses of the imperial family were burned. Such allegorical figures were frequent in Roman art; many of them are seen on the column of Trajan. In general pose the Campus Martius suggests the so-called Theseus of the East Pediment of the Parthenon, Plate 137.

The subject of the companion relief, Plate 340a, is uncertain. The emperor seems to be promulgating some decree.

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[1] See the bust of Hadrian, Plate 429b. Hadrian was the first emperor to wear a beard. Beards were already worn in the time of Trajan, see Plate 339; but long beards do not seem to have been in vogue until later.

[2] Hadrian decreed the apotheosis of two empresses,— of Plotina, wife of Trajan, who died in 129 A. D., and of Sabina, his own wife, who died in 136 A. D. The head of the empress in the relief is restored, so that it is impossible to state who she is.

His audience is typified by only three figures, of which the larger, only half-draped youth in the foreground is believed to be allegorical. A comparison of this relief with the left hand portion of the screen, Plate 337b, results decidedly in favor of the earlier work. The life and excellent grouping of that relief are conspicuously absent here. Individually the figures are not without interest, but they fail to supplement each other successfully as members of an organic whole. The artist lacks breadth of vision; he is unwilling to sacrifice details for the sake of an artistic ensemble. The two allegorical figures, Plates 340a and b, resemble in style the smooth, uninspired treatment of forms characteristic of the many statues which Hadrian erected to this favorite Antinoos.[1]

This academic interest in form was diametrically opposed to the realistic, almost illusionistic style of sculpture which was in vogue at that time. Its introduction has "a taste of the end;" it ushers in the decline.

PLATE 341. Apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina. Of Carrara marble. Giardino della Pigna, Vatican. Discovered, together with the remains of the column of Antoninus Pius, in 1704, near Monte Citorio in Rome. F. W., 1939.

This relief once adorned the back of the base of a column which in 161 A. D. was erected in honor of Antoninus Pius by his sons. The subject is similar to that of the relief, Plate 340b, except that here two people, Antoninus and his wife Faustina, are carried off to heaven by the genius of Eternity, and that the place of the emperor decreeing to them this honor is taken by the goddess Roma. The reclining figure is generally interpreted as the allegorical representation of the Campus Martius, where the corpses of the royal dead were

[1] See Plates 415ff.

burned, but may be intended to be the Tiber[1] winding around the Campus Martius. Perhaps this is indicated by his left arm holding the obelisk, which was erected there.

Although slightly better in grouping than the earlier relief, Plate 340b, the composition here is even less satisfactory in respect to individual figures, except Roma and the Tiber, both of which probably are copies or adaptations of Greek works. The winged genius is much less characteristic than the same figure on Plate 340b, and the position of the emperor and empress enthroned on his wings is almost ridiculous in its stiff inappropriateness to the idea of flight, the eagles on their right and left, which are crowding the space, actually preventing the illusion of flight. The entire composition contains nothing original that does not give signs of impending decline.

PLATES 342 and 343. Reliefs from the Column of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, called the Column of Antonine. Rome. See Plate 336b.

These three reliefs, representing the arrival of the emperor in a village, the decapitation of noble Germans, Plate 342b, and the miraculous rain, Plate 343, are taken from the column of Marcus Aurelius, Plate 336b. As stated above, this column is modelled after that of Trajan. What was said in reference to the reliefs of that column, Plate 336a, is true also of these reliefs, with the exception that the points of excellence are fewer and the defects much more marked. The ridiculous smallness of the buildings is at its worst on the slab, Plate 342a, which also shows all the ridiculousness of inaccurate perspective. Some of the figures, however, are not without charm. The dismounted emperor is dignified, and the native woman with her child running away from the conqueror is

[1] For representations of the Tiber see the discussion to Plate 278.

sufficiently well characterized to arouse interest. The other slab, Plate 342b, is nothing but a descriptive picture of a historic event. Neither in its treatment nor in the selection of the moment for representation has the man who carved it shown that he had any claim to be called an artist.

PLATE 344. Two Reliefs of a Monument in Honor of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Formerly in the Church of S. Martina, and since 1515 on the capitol. "They are so high up, and covered with such a coat of dust, that it is difficult to distinguish the restorations." Helbig, 544 and 546.

Marcus Aurelius in the relief, Plate 344a, bears a striking resemblance to the equestrian statue of the same emperor on the Piazza del Campidoglio, Plate 428.[1] The barbarians — craving for mercy — cannot be identified, since Marcus Aurelius continued an almost uninterrupted warfare with the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Sarmatian Jazygi. The grouping of the relief is fairly well done. Only in the case of the horseman behind the emperor, does the artist reveal his ignorance as to what parts of the horse and the rider he ought to carve, and what parts he could safely leave to the imagination. If he had omitted this horseman and, together with him, all the figures in the background, his composition would have been the better for it. Relief sculpture can do justice only to simple designs developing in one direction.

For this reason the other relief, Plate 344b, is more satisfactory, although the figure of the emperor is much less interesting. He has pulled his toga over his head,[2] but is in no other way distinguished from the man behind him.

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[1] The resemblance would be even more striking if Plate 428 gave a view from the right side of the statue.

[2] Compare for this custom the remarks to Plate 328.

The modelling is fairly good on both reliefs, although the half-nude figure behind the bull and its inaccurate proportions and muscles indicate that knowledge of the human body had begun to belong to the past. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans rarely had an opportunity to carve other than draped figures.

The accessories and the background have received much attention everywhere. The temple, Plate 344b, is the temple of Jupiter in Rome.

PLATE 345. Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus. Rome. For the literature on triumphal arches see the notes to Plate 334.

This arch was built in 203 A. D., and although its architecture is still imposing and indicative of the strength and skill of the Romans in this branch of art, its reliefs show that the sculptors have continued on the downward road which they had begun to travel under Hadrian. Considered, on the other hand, as merely decorative bits of pleasing bossiness the reliefs fill their places well. Sculptors as artists of independent ideas belong to the past.

PLATES 346 and 347. Reliefs from the Triumphal Arch of Constantine in Rome. For a complete set of the medallions on the Arch of Constantine, see *Antike Denkmäler* I, Plates 42 and 43.

This arch was built in 315 A. D., when architects were still able to do creditable work, but when the last spark of art had vanished from all pieces of sculpture. Of the slabs reproduced on Plates 346 and 347 only Plate 347c is an original of the age of Constantine, all the others are taken from monuments of Trajan, and conform to the style in vogue during the reign of that emperor.[1] The pitiable depth to which sculpture had sunk under Constantine is best seen in Plate 347c. This slab[2]

[1] See Plates 336ff. [2] Contrast it with Plates 337b.

is void of inspiration and the chastening influence of the good sculpture of the past. It marks the end. Sculpture could not sink lower. Historians, therefore, are right when they date the end of the old and the beginning of a new art in the century of Constantine. The antique had run its course. It had no further message for the people, and a new order of things had to arise to stir again those nobler emotions of men to which alone good art appeals.

PLATE 348. Part of the Frieze of the Temple of Minerva. Forum of Nerva. Rome. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome* (1892), Vol. II, pp. 21ff. A restoration of the temple is given in Ziegler, *Das alte Rom.*, Plate VII, fig. 1, and a view of the temple in the fifteenth century, *ibidem* Plate VII, fig. 3.

The temple of Minerva, built during the reign of Nerva, 96–98 A. D., remained almost intact down to 1606, when Pope Paul V despoiled it for the sake of his new chapel of S. Paul in the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore. But even the few extant remains are able to give one an idea of the rich decorative quality of the art of architecture in Rome in the first century of the Christian era. Most of the sculptured pieces have disappeared, but the fragments of the frieze suffice to show that they were made by men of mark. They are graceful in lines and interesting in composition. The figures are posed with delicate skill and are thoughtful in design. They are more Greek in feeling than the secular reliefs, but like them give evidence of the spirit of the time — the introduction of the pictorial element in sculpture. This is best seen in the drapery on the background[1] behind the group to the right on Plate 348, in the perspective of the design of the seated figure in the center, and in the supposed air as background for the third figure from the left turning her back to the spectator.

[1] Compare Plates 310 and 315.

The only marked defects of the frieze are the hands which are carved on the background. These, however, were not seen from below and were, therefore, intentionally slighted by the artists. In every other respect the frieze compares well with the reliefs which are generally dated in the Hellenistic Period of Greek art. If the date of the temple were not known, and the frieze were taken from its setting, many people would probably deny its Roman origin, on the ground that it was too good. These remains, therefore, may teach one caution, and suggest that possibly many pieces of sculpture known as late Greek are Roman.

Part Nine.

Grave Reliefs.

The custom of the Greeks of erecting memorial tablets on tombs dates back to the Mycenæan age.[1] At first these tablets were simple and not always sculptured. The decoration was only painted.[2] Later the figures were carved. The majority of the earlier reliefs contained only one figure,[3] but gradually more figures were introduced, until the entire space of the façade of a building, into which the simple slab had developed, was filled with figures. Toward the end of the fourth century tombs had begun to be so luxurious that Demetrios Phalereus carried a law[4] forbidding them. Only small columns, or slabs raised in the shape of tables, or urns of stone[5] were permitted. This law, it seems, continued in force so that no grave reliefs of importance date later than the end of the fourth century before Christ.

By many modern writers all grave reliefs are called stelai. It is, however, doubtful whether the ancients called any but those of the shape of Plate 349 by that name, except in a general way.[6]

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[1] See the discussion to Plate 5. [2] Good color reproduction of a painted stele, *A. J. A.*, Plate XVII. [3] The so-called Spartan tombstones mark an exception. On these tombstones see *J. H. S.*, V, p. 129. [4] Cicero, *De Legibus* II, 26. [5] See Plate 377. [6] A further distinction must be made between those reliefs which were erected on the tombs and those dedicated somewhere in commemoration of the dead. The latter were generally broader than they were high, while the opposite was true of the reliefs placed on graves.

The large number of extant grave reliefs offers an excellent opportunity of acquainting oneself with the Greek attitude toward death. This, however, is a study[1] slightly outside the realm of art and must, therefore, be passed by here with the mere mention, although it is a study of absorbing interest.

On Plates 349–354 some of the simple grave reliefs are reproduced. Those of Aristion, made by Aristokles, Plate 350a, and of the unknown man, made by Alxenor, Plate 349a, belong to the Archaic Period. The monument of Agathokles, Plate 350b, is carved with a full knowledge of the principles of relief sculpture that characterizes the Parthenon frieze, while the woman, Plate 354b, seems to stand under fourth century influences. The continuation through many centuries of the simple early slabs as grave monuments is therefore proved.

Some beautiful fragments of archaic stelai are reproduced on Plates 351 and 352. The head, Plate 353, belonged to a monument similar to the Alxenor stele, Plate 349a, but superior to it in modelling. It reminds one of the "Idolino," Plate 123. The resemblance between the two reliefs on Plate 349 is noteworthy. The earlier monument, in spite of its faulty drawing, possesses a charm not found in the later stele in Naples. Alxenor for the first time endeavored to express sentiment. Fully aware of the nobility of his purpose and, like all his contemporaries, cheerfully unconcerned about his halting skill, he proudly declared in an inscription, "Alxenor of Naxos made me. Just look at me!" The Naples relief is a late adaptation of the Alxenor design. Its skill, revealed in the modelling, ill agrees with its faulty design, and although the artist has introduced changes to avoid the most glaring defects he has been unable to carve a satisfactory figure.

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[1] The best book on the subject is Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*.

In the stelai of single figures the desire seems to tend gradually away from quiet poses to figures in motion, like that of Aristonautes, Plate 357, which belongs in the fourth century. This was in keeping with the general tendencies of Greek art.

Seated figures also were frequent. They occur in the very old so-called Spartan tombstones, several of which were found near Sparta and one of which is reproduced on Plate 367a.[1] Single seated figures of men are not known, while those of women are frequent. The relief of Philis, Plate 355, is one of the best, and gives evidence of the singular charm of this class of monuments. In later grave reliefs the importance of the personality fades before the portrayal of its relation to other members of the family. In early times the introduction of several figures on the slab is rare. An instance is given on Plate 367b,[2] which, owing to its resemblance, in style, to the frieze of the "Harpy" monument, Plate 53, must be dated in the Archaic Period. Noteworthy is the workbasket under the chair, to show that this woman had been an industrious housewife. A similar basket, it is believed, ought to be substituted for the rock in the so-called Penelope, Plate 74.

Likewise to the Archaic Period belongs the fragment of the stele of two women from Pharsalos in Thessaly, Plate 358. The careful balance of masses and the effort to avoid repetition reveals the sculptor as a thoughtful man, the equal of that artist who carved the reliefs from Thasos, Plate 54. Both lived in the northern part of Greece. Truly admirable is the disposition of the three arms and hands in the center, and the variety introduced by means of a slight difference of pose in the otherwise similar heads.

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[1] For a discussion of this relief, its technical defects, and its attempt at perspective see E. von Mach, pp. 124ff. [2] Notice the "perspective" in the arrangement of the three standing figures.

The three reliefs, Plates 359–361, show sufficient resemblance to each other to be all three patterned after the same general design. Like modern funeral sculpture, ancient grave reliefs were rarely original in design; but rather combinations of stock patterns,[1] adapted to the needs of the occasion. Only in the relief of Hegeso, Plate 359, have the figures been combined to a harmonious whole. An exaggerated attention to details, and the desire of expressing sentiment by means of figures designed for a different purpose, have somewhat spoiled the relief, Plate 360; while the untrained and somewhat crude taste of a stone-cutter seems to be revealed in Plate 361.

The relief of Hegeso, Plate 359, with figures dating about the time of the Olympian sculptures, Plates 84ff. — compare the standing figure with the woman, Plate 89 — is one of the earliest[2] in which the simple slab has developed into the façade of a building. Gradually the side pilasters were made more and more prominent, so that the depth of the monument required figures either in very high relief or almost in the round instead of the former figures in low relief. Generally speaking, the deep-frame monuments belong to the fourth century, the low-frame reliefs to the fifth century.

The fragment of a beautiful grave relief of men, containing two figures, is reproduced on Plate 362. The strong straight lines of the tall, almost deified youth, contrast well with the sorrowful droop of those of the little slave at his side. The presence of his pet on the pillar adds a touch

[1] For a stele of the Hegeso stele type, but with the figure inverted, see *A. J. A.*, VIII, 1904, p. 103, and for a duplicate of the girl on the stele in Berlin, Plate 354a; for a stele in the Palazzo Giustiniani see *Ant. Denkmäler* I, Plate 33. [2] Such a façade had been noticed in the monument of Aristonautes, Plate 357, which in this discussion was mentioned earlier than the Hegeso relief, because it contained only one figure. Chronologically it is much later.

of sentiment, the more impressive as no trace of it is noticeable in the figure of the dead himself. The grouping of the relief is skilful. In his endeavor to avoid too many empty places, the artist has made use of one of the devices of his predecessor, Plate 367a; he has extended the arm of the chief figure. In the Athenian relief this is so well done that the device is not apparent; in the Spartan tombstone, on the other hand, it is unduly prominent. The important thing, however, is that in both cases the artists were prompted to do what they did by exactly the same motive. Even the early sculptor felt the force of the requirements of a composition that should please the eye.

Deep feeling shows in the two reliefs, Plates 363 and 369, both of about the same date, the fourth century before Christ. The latter relief, which is perhaps the most impressive of all extant Greek reliefs, is so simple in design and yet so wonderfully true to the emotion portrayed, that it may well rank as one of the masterpieces of the world. The old man eagerly looking at the youth in whose honor the monument was erected, reminds one of the words of the German poet Lenau:

Sein liebes Bild sich recht in's treue Herz zu shauen.

In the other relief, Plate 360, the result is much less satisfactory.

Very different in thought are the reliefs, Plates 364–366. Here the dead are seen on horseback. Plate 365 is the monument of Dexileos, who fell in the Korinthian war early in the fourth century. The monument represents him, with pardonable disregard for truth, as the victor in the conflict. Very spirited and less constrained in space, because the youth has jumped from his horse, is the second

relief, Plate 366. The third relief, Plate 364, shows the youth not in battle, but on a pleasure ride. The representation is noteworthy because the rider carries a riding-whip, an unusual thing for a Greek horseman.

The remaining monuments of this series, Plates 368 and 370–374, represent family scenes, which by many touches of individuality are made extremely interesting objects of study, although these touches not rarely disturb the beauty of the composition. This is most especially true of the tilted chair, Plate 368, and the small figure crowded into the design, Plates 373 and 374. Very charming is Plate 371, the little slave-girl fastening the sandal of her mistress and the woman tenderly touching her head.[1]

From first to last all these grave reliefs appear to be inspired by works which are of greater importance than they themselves. The connection of Plate 350b with the Parthenon, of Plate 367b with the "Harpy" monument, and of Plate 353 with the school of Polykleitos, has been noted above. The horsemen, Plates 365 and 366, are more or less influenced by the Parthenon and other temple sculptures. A comparison of the Dexileos monument with the Amazon from Epidauros, Plate 242, is very instructive. The youth, Plate 369, reminds one of Skopadean works, and Plate 371 may reproduce a motive from Olympia.

With Plate 376 we enter on an entirely different kind of grave monuments, in which the representation of the dead has no place. The two seated figures in Berlin are repre-

[1] This motive is interesting because it offers a parallel to a suggested transposition of figures on the East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia, by means of which the crouching maiden is placed close to one of the standing women, whose sandals she is supposed to have just finished arranging.

sentations of women mourning at the grave; while the vases, Plate 377 and Text Illustration 43, by their shape indicate that the dead whose graves they decorate had died unmarried. It was customary with the Greeks to carry the water for the bridal bath in such vases. When the young people died before marriage, a stone vase was placed on their graves. Reliefs might be carved on them or they might be otherwise decorated, as for instance the vase, Text Illustration 43.

The sarcophagi, reserved for people of princely station, of which Plates 378–386 reproduce a few[1] of the most famous, offer an interesting study. For the decoration of most of them the best sculptors were employed. The designs are almost uniformly exquisite, from the so-called Sarcophagus of the Satrap, Plate 378, in the first half of the fifth century, to the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus,[2] Plates 379ff., not earlier than the end of the fourth century. One of the most masterful compositions, truly Greek in its simplicity, decorates the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women, Plates 385 and 386.[2]

The study of Greek grave reliefs may not teach one anything new concerning sculpture, or reveal any principles that are not more fully or more clearly exemplified in other extant works. It does, however, prove that in every

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[1] For colored reproductions of another famous sarcophagus, the Amazon Sarcophagus, see *J. H. S.*, IV, Plates XXVI–XXVII; for two archaic sarcophagi of clay, see *J. H. S.*, IV, pp. 1ff. For the Alexander Sarcophagus see the publication by Hamdy Bey and Reinach; also *Jahrbuch* X, 1895, pp. 165ff.; *J. H. S.*, XIX., 1899, pp. 273ff.; and *Jahrbuch* IX, 1894, pp. 204ff.

[2] For a Roman sarcophagus of the type frequent in later ages, see Text Illustration 46.

department of life, even in one that to-day is almost exclusively given over to the barbarous taste of untrained stonecutters, the Greeks were governed by a delicate temper and the high standards of their best men.

Part Ten.

Portraits.

A brief discussion of ancient portrait-sculpture is unsatisfactory from every point of view. The limits of the Handbook, however, preclude a more explicit discussion of this subject, while the desired comprehensiveness of the collection demands the reproduction of at least a few representative portraits.

The Greek portraits of this collection are divided into two classes, those that are imaginary and those that might have been made from life. Portrait-sculpture, even in its most modest sense, was of course unknown in the time of Aisopos (sixth century before Christ), so that the late-Greek artist who carved the statue, now in the Villa Albani, had to rely on his imagination fully as much as Mr. French had to do in more recent times when he modelled the statue of John Harvard, of whose features no record had been preserved. Conditions were different in the case of Aspasia (the friend of Perikles), of Alexander (fourth century), and of the other persons of these or later periods. The artists who carved their portraits knew them; or, if the extant statues and busts are later works, might have known likenesses made by their own contemporaries.

The many details which give individuality to a face are absent in most Greek works; it is as if the artists had penetrated below the surface, and portrayed the essential

character of the person, untouched by the vicissitudes of life and without reference to any particular mood. The Romans worked differently ; they caught the expression of the moment and copied every essential detail. Their heads are real to an astonishing degree.

Entirely independent of the study of ancient portraits as works of art is their discussion from the point of view of identification. The noticeable result of recent investigations has been the discovery that many popular names of statues and busts are wrong, and that many hitherto unknown works represent famous characters. One of the most interesting suggestions is that the bust in Boston labelled "Menander?" Plate 403b, is Virgil.

In the selection of portraits for this collection less attention has been paid to these investigations than to the value of the portraits as illustrations of the development of portrait-sculpture. The popular names, therefore, are given, unless they are now universally acknowledged to be wrong, in which case they are printed in quotation marks.

Part Eleven.

Heads.

It has been said that every ancient statue can be accurately dated by its head, and that the treatment of the head is the surest guide to the understanding of the style of a sculptor. This is true if allowances are made for those conscious copies of earlier works which characterize the styles of some later artists. A study of the heads along these lines is, however, impossible from photographs; for it must take into consideration the third dimension, and requires access to originals or their casts. General tendencies, however, not so much characteristic of individual artists as of periods, can be traced even in pictures. To illustrate this fact, some seventy heads are grouped together here, Plates 439–500, and arranged approximately in chronological order. The conclusions which may be drawn from these heads are so many that to mention all exceeds the limits of the book. They are, moreover, often self-evident.

Characteristic of the Archaic Period is the ignorance of the proper relation of the features and of the individual quality of the several parts of the face. The eyes and the mouths offered the greatest difficulty, especially in marble. To sink the eyeball behind the lids, and both ball and lids under the brow was a problem no early sculptor, afraid[1] of

[1] See the discussions of the "Apollo" figures, Plates 11ff.

the brittleness of his material, dared to solve. This accounts for the "bulging" eyes, Plates 440 and 444. In the very beginning, lack of accurate observation had the same effect, as is seen in the bronze head, Plate 442. The somewhat later bronze, Plate 441, shows a great advance.

A lack of feeling for the characteristic difference of the upper and the lower eyelid is well seen in Plate 439, and a similar lack in respect to the lips in Plate 442. Indications of painted eyeballs are seen in Plate 440, while the eyes of the heads, Plates 442 and 445, were made separately and inserted. The top of the head, Plate 444, was prepared to receive a helmet. The roughness, therefore, does not indicate hair, as scholars used to believe.

Plate 445, labelled in the Museum of Boston "Artemis?" and considered by the Museum authorities to be genuinely Greek archaic, shows such a striking resemblance to the head of Artemis in the Metope, Plate 50, that it is difficult to doubt an existing connection between the two heads. Unfortunately the provenience[1] of the Boston head is not published. Some scholars[2] consider the head a late Greek or Roman attempt at work along archaic lines. In other words, it is a copy. The writer shares this view; to his mind, however, it is not at all certain that this copy was made in antiquity.

Some peculiarities of the Archaic Period continued even

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[1] Mr. Robinson, the Director of the Boston Museum, informs me by letter of February 1, 1905, that this head can be traced to Rome, "where it was formerly owned by a man who is said to have had it from excavations of his own. Where these excavations were I have never learned, but they were most probably in Italy, and perhaps not far from the city." [2] Professor Rufus B. Richardson and, the writer is told, also Professor Adolf Furtwängler.

after the Persian wars. The arrangement of the hair, for instance, on the Apollo of Olympia, Plate 446, resembles that of the head, Plates 440 and 443a. On the head, Plate 447b, the braid is arranged like a fillet around the head and is very pronounced. When the custom changed and the hair was worn short enough not to necessitate a braid, the artists familiar with the earlier style substituted an actual band for the braid of hair. This is clearly seen in the heads, Plate 449–450b. In the bronze, Plate 449b, this band, which was cast separately, has been lost. This bronze also illustrates the greater freedom in the arrangement of the several locks that metal permitted, as compared with marble, Plate 449a. Entirely original is the Naples head, Plate 448. Here the narrow band has given way to a broad fillet, which introduced a new and very successful motive, and one which was destined to last. Neither band nor fillet breaks the masses of hair on the two heads, Plates 451a and b. The orderly arrangement of the locks, however, and the parallel depressions, very pronounced in the lowest row, Plate 451b, indicate the general type from which these heads deviate.

Compared with the earlier heads, these ten heads, Plates 446–451b, show greater knowledge of the relation which the features bear to each other, and their individual qualities. The eye is always properly sunk below the brow, and the eyelids are often carved with great skill. The brows are either arching, Plate 450b, or almost straight and sharp, Plate 448. The only brow which the critical modern observer recognizes as possibly true to nature is found on Plate 451b.

The mouths still continue to offer great difficulties to the artists. Those that are true are by no means the most

beautiful, Plates 449a and b. The mouth on Plate 451b is too studied in effect to be very pleasing.

The Apollo of Olympia, Plate 446, was designed for a distant view, so that a detailed discussion of his features is ill-advised. Very valuable is the comparison of the marble head, Plate 449a, with the bronze head on the same plate; and also with the two marble heads on Plate 451, of which one, Plate 451a, is a copy of a design in bronze, while the other was designed for marble.

On Plates 452a and b and 453, three heads of women of this period are given. The Athena head, Plate 452b, originally was helmeted. The head, Plate 453, in Berlin, has recently been recognized as belonging to a type of figure similar to "Penelope," Plate 74. The treatment of the mouth is very interesting. The two halves of the mouth are irregular, a fact which was originally, no doubt, little noticed, when the entire figure and not only the head made its appeal to the spectator. The purpose of this uneven mouth, together with eyes which are not on a straight line, was to suggest a more pronounced tilt of the head than the artist cared to carve because it would have spoiled the upright lines of his composition. The Greeks often resorted to such devices. The ears of the "Marble Faun," Plate 195, for instance, are unevenly placed on the head, and it may perhaps be stated as a rule that tilted heads in good Greek art *never* are designed with the symmetry which characterizes the natural head and which they are intended to suggest.

The heads of the so-called FIFTH CENTURY PERIOD continue to develop along the lines established by the earlier artists. The proper relationship of the several features to one another is always carefully observed. The general

ensemble is often very beautiful, but the character of the person is rarely — if ever — portrayed in his face. On the contrary, one sooner perceives in the lines of the features the mood of the artist than the frame of mind of his subject.

The first head of this subdivision is a so-called Apollo in the Louvre, which it is interesting to compare with the head on Plate 447a. The upper lip is faulty and unpleasantly restored; with that exception, however, the head well illustrates the advance alike of skill and of conception that had taken place. Characteristic of most heads of this period is the outline of the face, which tapers toward the chin.

The next four heads, Plates 454b–457a, all belong to the school of Polykleitos. Plate 455 reproduces the head of the Delian Diadoumenos, Plate 115, and Plate 457a, the bronze herm[1] of the Doryphoros (see Plate 113), now in Naples. The other two heads are in the Museum in Berlin.[2] They show, especially over the forehead, the characteristic treatment of the hair of the Doryphoros, Plates 113 and 457a. The long locks of the head, Plate 454b, remind one of the so-called Medusa Ludovisi, Plate 495; while the broad fillet of the Diadoumenos, Plate 455, calls to mind the head in Naples, Plate 448. In the Diadoumenos no locks protrude below the fillet, which gives the appearance of a high forehead.

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[1] Herm is the generic term of heads erected on pillars. Originally probably all such heads represented Hermes. These pillars were often decorated with garlands. The projections, Plate 457, were used for this purpose. On marble herms the projection was probably of wood, inserted in oblong holes; see, for instance, Plate 411b. The Doryphoros herm is inscribed with the name of the copyist, Apollonios of Athens. [2] *Berlin Catalogue*, 479 and 546.

Great individuality of treatment characterizes the seven heads of women, Plates 457b–463. In all, the artists have endeavored to do justice to the peculiar charms of full heads of hair. The herm of the Amazon, Plate 457b, found together with that of the Doryphoros, used to be held to offer strong points of resemblance both to the Doryphoros and the head of the Berlin Amazon, Plate 118, and consequently to prove the Polykleitean origin of that statue. This view has recently been attacked, and a stronger resemblance been noted between the Capitoline Amazon, Plate 120, and the Diadoumenos. The question is still disputed.

The even fullness of the hair of the Amazon, Plate 457b, fails to set off the beauty of the face to the same advantage as the parted strands of the hair of the Hera head, Plate 462. In this respect this latter head certainly comes nearer the Polykleitean treatment of hair (see Plates 113, 456 and 457a) than that of the Amazon herm. Very similar is the Hera Farnese in Naples, Plate 461, which, however, is a very uninspired copy, and consequently has lost the tender charm of the original. On the broad eyelids of this head the eyelashes originally were painted, similar to the head, Plate 459. Now when the color has disappeared, the lids appear to be exaggerated, they add an unpleasant expression to the face.

The head, Plate 463, was found in Argos. It probably belonged to the pediment of the temple, and although not necessarily the head of Hera, is generally known by that name. It was designed to be seen only in profile; the front view is almost unfinished and very cold. Its profile modelling, however, is very superior to the two heads of Hera, Plates 461 and 462, and helps to suggest the beauty that must have distinguished the original Hera, of which Plate 462 is a copy.

Another head,[1] originally belonging to a pediment, is the

[1] For a profile view see E. von Mach, Plate XXXIX, fig. 4.

Weber head[1] in the de Laborde Collection in Paris, Plate 460. It probably once belonged to the East[2] Pediment of the Parthenon. Unfortunately the head has been spoiled by the restoration of a poor nose and mouth. Its grandeur of conception, however, is still apparent. Despising all devices such as enhancing its beauty by an artificial arrangement of the hair, the artist has designed a head of such inspiring dignity that it fully deserves the attention which its connection with the Parthenon has given it.

Perhaps the most interesting of these heads of women is the head in Bologna, Plate 458, probably correctly identified by Furtwängler as that of the Lemnian Athena by Pheidias, a copy of whose statue is discussed in connection with Plate 95.

Plate 459 reproduces one of the few extant heads with sufficient traces of color to convey an idea of the appearance of original statues. Another painted head of Athena is in the Berlin Museum, *Catalogue*, 76.

On the next six Plates a few of the heads are reproduced that have been brought in connection with the STYLE OF PRAXITELES. The only surely Praxitelean head, however, is the Hermes, Plate 466. There one of the strongest points of that sculptor, his sunny eyes, is well studied. By a multitude of devices, shadows about the eye are as much avoided as they are sought for in the Skopadean heads, Plates 469ff. The same absence of prominent cheekbones shows in the Boston head of a woman, Plate 468. The forehead of the woman is almost straight, that of Hermes has a pronounced bar. This is a characteristic distinction between the heads of men and women in the fourth century.

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[1] It used to be in the Weber collection. [2] Not the West Pediment, as scholars used to believe. See Bruno Sauer, *Der Weber-Labordische Kopf, und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon* (1903).

The head of the Hermes of Andros is added here for the sake of comparison with the Praxitelean head, a comparison which is especially desirable in view of the relation that the two statues, Plates 190 and 191, bear to each other.

The Eubouleus and Hypnos, Plates 464 and 467, are so habitually brought in connection with Praxiteles that it seemed wise to add them here. The writer himself is unable to see in either head any distinctly Praxitelean quality, taking as starting point the Hermes by that sculptor. Praxiteles, may of course, have worked differently when new subjects called for new modes of procedure; in fact, we may be sure that he did. But what these new modes were we do not know. To see them in the Eubouleus, Plate 464, and Hypnos, Plate 467, is guess work.

The Hypnos head has lost one of its wings. In the photograph the hole near the left ear, where this wing was added, is hidden in the shadow.

The first definite indication of the STYLE OF SKOPAS has been gained from the two heads from Tegea in the Peloponnesos, Plate 469. An excellent summary in tabulated form of Græf's exhaustive studies of these heads is contained in Robinson's *Catalogue*, supplement, pp. 11 and 12. The devices by means of which shadows are created about the eyes are discussed above in connection with Plates 213ff., especially Plate 215. This same element of shadows and the ensuing pathos of expression is noted in a small head in Boston, Plate 470b, which for this reason has been brought in connection with Skopas. The face, however, tapers strongly toward the chin, and in this respect continues the style of Polykleitos as exhibited in the heads, Plates 454b–457a.

On less cogent grounds, although possibly correctly, the head of a woman from Athens, Plate 471, is assigned to Skopas. Unfortunately the photograph is taken under wrong

light, from below instead of from above, so that the high cheekbones and the deep shadows about the eyes are almost lost. The same is true of the somewhat dry copy of this head in Berlin, Plate 470a. The hair is arranged similar to that of Hera, Plate 461 (see also Plate 462), sparse over the forehead and very full from the temples to the ears. The only difference is that in the Athens head, Plate 471, the fillet is pushed down farther, so that no hair shows on the forehead below it, just as was the case with the Diadoumenos by Polykleitos, Plate 455.

On the next five plates (472–476), seven heads in STYLES OF VARIOUS ARTISTS are reproduced. The bearded head from Melos, Plate 472, is known as Asklepios, god of healing, because the mildness of its expression seems to agree with the character of this god better than with that of any other deity customarily represented as bearded.

The tender charm of Eirene, goddess of peace, which was noted in the discussion of her statue, Plate 184, is beautifully expressed in her face, Plate 473a. On the same plate the head of one of the Graces in Siena, Plate 209a, is reproduced. It is much less personal and seems to indicate that the late copyist introduced some of the ideas of his own age into this face — if indeed the entire group does not owe its origin to this late date, in spite of the general verdict that it is a fourth century work.

Similar doubts come to the serious student in respect to the colossal Hera Ludovisi, Plate 474, which is most frequently assigned to this period.[1] Those familiar with Roman portrait-sculpture and the endeavor of many Roman artists to idealize the faces of their subjects cannot help believing that this head is not a Hera, but a Roman lady of quality.

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[1] The best discussion of this head is, F. W., 1272.

The battered head of a woman, Plate 475a, is interesting because it was found in the excavations of the Maussolleion. Its hairdress is like that of Artemisia,[1] Plate 404a, and that of a colossal head from Priene, now in London (*Catalogue* II, Plate XXI). Most important, however, are the points of resemblance, between this head and that from Athens, Plate 471, especially in respect to the shape of the face and the treatment and distribution of the features. The head in Athens has been assigned to Skopas, and Skopas is said to have been one of the sculptors of the Maussolleion.

The head, Plate 475b, is known as Aphrodite, owing to its "soft[2] smile and the languishing expression of the almond-shaped, half-closed eyes." Its features, moreover, as Helbig says, "betray a close kinship with those of the Venus of Knidos."[3] Much closer, however, is its kinship with the head of the daughter of Niobe, Plate 222, yes, even with Niobe herself, Plate 220. This resemblance grows when the head in the Terme Museum is viewed from its left side, the one doubtless intended for inspection, but unfortunately rarely photographed. Forming thus a link between the Knidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles and the Niobe group of doubtful origin, this head, little known at present, promises to become soon one of prime importance for the student of ancient art.

Plate 476 reproduces a beautiful, but little-known head of the Museum in Berlin,[4] acquired in Athens in 1844, and unfortunately polished to the detriment of its modelling. The head is not unlike that of the Demeter of Knidos,[5] Plate 247.

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[1] The face of Artemisia is a restoration. [2] Quoted from Helbig, 1026. [3] See Plate 198, and for the Kaufmann head, E. von Mach, Plate XXXIX, fig. 1. [4] *Berlin Catalogue*, No. 616. [5] The resemblance is better seen in the front view of Demeter, given E. von Mach, frontispiece.

Both heads were worked to be inserted in their respective statues.

The next eleven plates (477–487) offer samples of heads of men presumably of the HELLENISTIC PERIOD. The heads, Plates 478, 484, and 486, which are taken from statues, Apollo Belvedere, Plate 272; Laokoön, Plate 270; and Youth from Antikythera, Plate 290, need no further commentaries than are contained in the discussions of the statues above.

The head of the giant Anytas, Plate 477, was found, together with two heads, Plates 489 and 492, in the excavations of Lykosoura, and like them is the work of Damophon, who was discussed above in connection with Plate 255. The picturesque arrangement of the hair, together with the individuality of the features, gives a unique charm to Anytas. He has no equal in the whole realm of Greek sculpture, a fact which makes it very difficult to date the artist who carved him. In the treatment of the hair, he comes nearest to the fanciful creation of sea deities, such as are reproduced on Plate 483. The smaller locks on his forehead remind one of the locks on the forehead of the youth, Plate 486.

Almost equally unique, although along different lines, is the dreamy head of Apollo, leader of the Muses, in the British Museum, Plate 479a. Fanciful in the extreme, this head can yet not disguise the early prototype from which, in a series of changes, it has developed. This is most apparent in the arrangement of the hair over the forehead, which calls to mind Polykleitean heads, such as the youth in Berlin, Plate 456. The fanciful bow of hair in the center of the head is frequent in the Hellenistic age with heads of women and of Apollo, who at that time began to be represented more and more effeminately. The same bow occurs on Plates 478 and 480. This latter head in fact may be considered to be a very prosaic and exaggerated copy of the same original, from which also the head, Plate 479a, is derived.

Rather interesting is a peculiar and not successful device of the artist who carved the so-called Alexander, Plate 479b. In order to suggest a more pronounced tilt than he actually cared to carve,[1] he has carved the center line of the hair with the nicely parted locks not in the center of the forehead, but nearer the right temple. This device was originally more apparent when the heavy masses of hair over the partition, perhaps arranged in a bow similar to that of the Apollo on the same plate, were not broken away.

The bronze head of an Athlete in the Louvre, Plate 481, shows by its fanciful arrangement of the hair that it belongs later than the fourth century. Below the hair, however, the features are of surpassing beauty and dignity. It is well to compare this head with that of the youth from Antikythera, in Athens, Plate 486, and to note how much the Athens head falls below the standard of Greek art. The admiration bestowed by many people on the Antikythera figure is entirely without foundation.

The perfection of the technique of bronze casting is well illustrated in the two heads, Plates 482 and 485. The exact date of the former is unknown. It represents a professional athlete, and doubtless belonged to a victor statue in Olympia. Although generally assigned to the Hellenistic Period, the head might, the writer believes, also have been made in the fourth century. Michaelis[2] actually mentions it in connection with Lysippos. A comparison of this head with the early bronze, Plate 442, is valuable as showing the direction in which Greek sculpture developed.

The other head, Plate 485, is chiefly interesting as revealing a different conception of a youthful satyr from that of the "Marble Faun," Plate 195, generally assigned to Praxiteles.

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[1] See above the discussion of the head, Plate 453. [2] Springer-Michaelis, p. 259.

The animal nature of the little creature is much more prominent in the later head.

Plate 484, which reproduces the head of Laokoön, ought to be studied by the side of Plate 487, Zeus Otricoli. The remarkable relationship that exists between these two heads has been pointed out in E. von Mach, p. 313.

The next ten plates, 488–497, offer several heads of women of the same period. Damophon [1] was the sculptor of Artemis, Plate 489, and Demeter, Plate 492 ; while Euboulides probably carved the once helmeted head of Athena, Plate 490. With these exceptions the artists of none of the other heads are known.

The Athena, Plate 490, is especially interesting, because, if the attribution to the Euboulides monument, near which it was found and the inscribed base of which is extant,[2] is correct, we possess in her a part of the only monument "which[3] we can identify as having been actually seen by Pausanias during his visit to Athens."

The two heads on Plate 488 belong to the statues of the Aphrodite of Capua, Plate 293, and the Nike of Brescia, Plate 301, the points of correspondence between which were noted above in the discussions of the statues.

The ugly fracture of the nose of the beautiful head, Plate 491, renders an appreciative study of the sleeping girl very difficult. "The deep breathing," says Helbig,[4] "of the fair sleeper is indicated naturally and charmingly in the treatment of the half-opened mouth. The expression shows a slight

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[1] For this artist see above the discussions of Plates 255 and 477. [2] See Overbeck II, p. 438, and references there given. [3] Quoted from Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 517. Mr. Gardner refers only to the statue of Athena, but two other fragments of this monument have been found, the torso of a woman and the head of a woman. [4] Helbig, 1084.

trace of melancholy. As there are no determinative attributes, we have to give up the idea of definite identification, but the fillet seems to indicate a mythical personage rather than a grave figure." Since, however, the mythical girl sleeper of antiquity was Ariadne, this name is generally given to the head.

Plate 493 reproduces one of the treasures of the Museum in Berlin, a head from Cyprus. It is characterized by large, generous features and a full open mouth. The peculiar expression, which is due to these points, is best appreciated when the head is compared, for instance, with that of Artemis, Plate 489. Very similar in this respect is a head from Pergamon, likewise in Berlin,[1] a fact which seems to point to Pergamean influences also in the head from Cyprus, especially since on the large frieze of the altar at Pergamon[2] open mouths are very common.

The delicacy of modelling of the exquisite head in Boston, Plate 494, is so great that not even this good reproduction is able to suggest it. The head is mentioned in the Report of the Trustees (Robinson), 1903, p. 57, but unfortunately without any mention of its provenience. Robinson there attributes the work to the school of Praxiteles, and the second half of the fourth century B. C. This attribution is doubtful; the head can hardly be dated earlier than in the Hellenistic Period, owing to its peculiar hairdress, which finds its nearest parallel in the Apollo heads, Plates 479a and 480. It does not, moreover, show the sunny eyes, which to-day are considered characteristic of all surely Praxitelean works.[3] The shadowy effect of the small eyes in the Boston head is very pronounced, in fact more so than in almost any other head; and the cheek-

[1] See E. von Mach, Plate XXXIX, fig. 4. [2] See Plates, 265–268.
[3] See the discussion of Plate 466.

bones are very prominent, both indications of an un-Praxitelean origin. The treatment of the nude is the acme of skill, rendering the upper surface of the marble almost pellucid. In this respect the Boston head finds its nearest parallel in the head of Apollo, Plate 479a.

The next three heads, Plates 495–497, are known as heads of Medusa. This identification, however, is very doubtful in the case of the so-called Medusa Ludovisi, Plate 495. Helbig[1] argues with force that the head is not that of the Medusa, but of a sleeping Fury, one of the Eumenides. "The hair tangled by the wind, and the locks on the cheek, heavy with perspiration, indicate the ardour with which the Fury has been pursuing a criminal. She is sleeping for the nonce; but even in her sleep she retains her severity of expression and her wrath against the miscreant." Wolters,[2] who with Helbig denies that this head is that of Medusa, dying or dead at the hands of Perseus[3] believes, contrary to Helbig, that death nevertheless and not sleep is here represented. "There is perhaps," he says, "no other work extant of ancient sculpture in which the awfulness of death is portrayed with equal force and superlative skill." The writer himself inclines to the view that the woman is sleeping; but he acknowledges that the artist, if this was his intention, failed to express himself with sufficient clearness.[4] The disposition of the body, however, to which the head belonged, may have contained the key to the interpretation. The copious restorations, including a bust and an oval background, seen on most photographs, were removed for the making of this picture. Viewed by itself without these confusing additions, the head clearly is the fragment of a group.

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[1] Helbig, 866, with complete bibliography. [2] F. W., 1419. [3] See the discussion to Plate 47a. [4] Contrast this head, for instance, with the so-called Sleeping Ariadne, Plate 491.

The original group, Helbig suggests, comprised the three Furies, arranged similarly to a group on a vase-painting from Magna Græcia,[1] where one of the three dreaded goddesses is resting her head in sleep against the shoulder of a seated sister.

The generally accepted date of this head is the Hellenistic Period. Wickhoff,[2] however, would assign her to the Roman period, and more specifically to the time of Augustus. He reaches this conclusion by noting the resemblance between this head and the sleeping Endymion, Plate 306, which he erroneously, the writer believes, calls Roman.

No doubt attaches to the common name of Medusa of the head in Munich, Plate 496. The wings and snakes sufficiently characterize it. Medusa was the only mortal of the three gorgons. Perseus is said to have cut off her head.[3] In early art she was represented as an awe-inspiring monster. Later, however, possibly under the influence of Pindar, who called her beautiful, her representations changed. The head of Medusa had the power, according to the myth, of turning to stone whoever looked at it. It was, therefore, an appropriate decoration of a shield and especially of the aigis.[4] As such it is already mentioned by Homer, *Ilias* XI, 36. The Medusa Rondanini, Plate 496, shows a late development of the type of head used for such shield decorations.

Of a very different type is the head in Paris, Plate 497. The wing and the snakes, almost disguised in the surrounding hair, indicate that this woman is one of the three gorgons. Sleep, however, seems to be represented rather than death, so that it is doubtful whether Medusa is meant or one of her immortal sisters. This head is especially interesting, in view of the

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[1] Helbig, 866, fig. 35. [2] Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 38. [3] See Plate, 47a.
[4] See almost all statues of Athena.

doubts that attach to the head, Plate 495, as representing one of the gorgons; for those who see in her, in spite of Helbig's arguments to the contrary, a Medusa, will be ready to affirm that if one artist felt at liberty to treat the distinguishing attributes of the monster, wings and snakes, with as much delicacy as the artist of the Paris head did, another might be supposed to have omitted them entirely.

The next two heads, Plates 498 and 499, are samples of a mode of sculpture not uncommon throughout antiquity, but most in vogue late in the Hellenistic Period and during the ascendency of the Romans, that of working in a style older than the one that came natural to the artist. The severity of archaic art, when halting skill and fervor of conception created works that possessed a curious power to charm, appealed to many late sculptors. They tried to imitate it outright, or to mix with it a bit of their own more expressive skill. Their works generally are known as archaistic. Perhaps the noblest of all such works is the head of Dionysos in Naples, Plate 498, in which mild and natural features, such as were unknown to the early artists, are blended with simple severity of treatment, especially in the hair of the head.

A more accurate copy of an archaic prototype is the Zeus Talleyrand, Plate 499. It is archaic art seen through the spectacles of an uninspired age. The perfect symmetry and exasperatingly accurate dimensions of this head remind one of the machine-made heads of the present day. But even in this guise the dignity of the original is apparent.

Several centuries separate this head from the realistic head of a man, Plate 500, carved in late Roman times, when men had acquired the habit of wearing beards. In this head nothing is left to the imagination, every detail is carved in an illusionistic manner, but not the less carefully. Even the brows and the pupils of the eyes are indicated. The head is

carved by a master hand, but although the man himself who wielded the chisel may have been a Greek by birth, one feels that he was no longer Greek in spirit. A new conception of art had dawned. This dawn was short; for soon utter decline overtook all manifestations of art; centuries elapsed before either painting or sculpture rose above the commonplace. But when that time finally came, memories of heads like this head in Athens survived, and many of the images of Christ bear unmistakable points of resemblance to the head of this unknown Greek.

List of Plates.

Part One. — Mycenæan Age.

PLATE.

1 . . Stairway in the Palace of Phaistos . . . . . Crete

2 . . Throne in the Throne-Room, Palace, Knossos . . . . . Crete

3 . . Gate of the Lionesses . . . . . Mykenai

4 . . Mask of Bearded Warrior from Mykenai . . . . . National Museum, Athens

5 . . Chariot Relief . . . . . Museum, Candia

This relief does not belong to the Mycenæan Age proper, but to the transition from that age to historic Greek sculpture.

6 . . Three Nude Idols . . . . . British Museum, London

7 . . Two Painted Metopes from Thermon . . . . . National Museum, Athens

These metopes do not belong to the Mycenæan Age proper, but to the transition from that age to historic Greek sculpture.

8 . . Gold Cups from Vaphio . . . . . National Museum, Athens

This Plate is reproduced with the permission of Ginn & Co.

9 . . Gold Ornaments from Mykenai . . . National Museum, Athens

10 . . Gold Ornaments from Mykenai . . . National Museum, Athens

Part Two.—Archaic Greek Sculpture.

PLATES 11–56. For Grave Reliefs, Portraits and Heads, see Parts IX, X and XI.

Statues of Men.

11*a* . Kitylos and Dermys . . . . . National Museum, Athens
11*b* . "Apollo" of Orchomenos . . . . National Museum, Athens
12 . . "Apollo" of Thera . . . . . National Museum, Athens
13 . . "Apollo" of Melos . . . . . National Museum, Athens
14 . . "Apollo" of Tenea . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
15*a* . "Apollo" of Mt. Ptoos . . . . . National Museum, Athens
15*b* . "Apollo" of Mt. Ptoos (later style), National Museum, Athens
16 . . "Apollo" Strangford . . . . . British Museum, London
17*a* . Statuette after Kanachos . . . . . British Museum, London
17*b* . Bronze Statuette from Ligourio . . . . . Museum, Berlin
18 . . "Apollo" Piombino . . . . . Louvre, Paris
19 . . Calfbearer . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
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Statues of Women.

20 . . Figure of Woman from Delos (Artemis) . . . . . National Museum, Athens
21 . . Akropolis Figure Resembling No. 20 . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
22 . . "Hera" of Samos . . . . . Louvre, Paris
23 . . Akropolis Figure Resembling No. 22 . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
24 . . Akropolis Fragment Resembling No. 22 . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
25 . . Akropolis Figures. . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
26 . . Akropolis Figures . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens

27 . . Akropolis Figure . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
28 . . Akropolis Figure . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
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29 . . Akropolis Figure . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
30 . . Akropolis Figure . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
31 . . Figures of Women from Delos . . National Museum, Athens
32 . . Flying Figure from Delos . . . . . National Museum, Athens
Restoration, Text Illustration No. 1
Oriental Artemis, Text Illustration No. 5
33 . . Bronze Nike . . . . . British Museum, London
Marble Nike (Akropolis style), Text Illustration No. 2
34 . . Athena Statuette, beaten out of two
sheets of metal . . . . . National Museum, Athens
35 . . Athena (bronze statuette) . . . . National Museum, Athens
36*a* . Chares, seated figure from
Branchidai . . . . . British Museum, London
36*b* . Woman, seated figure from
Branchidai . . . . . British Museum, London
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37 . . Seated Athena . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
38 . . Sphinx from Spata . . . . . National Museum, Athens
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39 . . Reliefs from Assos . . . . . Louvre, Paris
40*a* . Herakles and the Hydra . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
40*b* . Herakles and the Triton . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
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41*b* . A Bull Attacked by Lions . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
42 . . Athena and a Giant . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
43*a* . Metopes of the Treasury of Sikyon . . . . . Museum, Delphi
43*b* . Relief from the Frieze of the Treasury (possibly
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45 . . Sculptured Drum of a Column, old temple
of Artemis in Ephesos . . . . . British Museum, London

46 . . Pediment Relief, Treasury of Megara, Olympia . . . . . Museum, Olympia
47*a* . Perseus Slaying Medusa, metope from Selinus[1] . . . . . Museum, Palermo
47*b* . Herakles carrying the Kerkopes, metope from Selinus . . . . . Museum, Palermo
48*a* . Four-horse Chariot, metope from Selinus . Museum, Palermo
48*b* . Votive Relief of Victorious Charioteer . . . Museum, Berlin
Europa, metope from Selinus, Text Illustration No. 7
49 . . Zeus and Hera, metope from Selinus . . . Museum, Palermo
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50 . . Aktaion and Artemis, metope from Selinus . Museum, Palermo
51*a* . Herakles and Hippolyta, metope from Selinus . . . . . Museum, Palermo
51*b* . Athena and Giant, metope from Selinus . . Museum, Palermo
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52*a* . Gable End of a Tomb from Xanthos . . . . . British Museum, London
52*b* . Frieze of Cocks and Hens from Xanthos . . . . . British Museum, London
53 . . Frieze of the "Harpy" Tomb . . . British Museum, London
54 . . Reliefs from Thasos . . . . . Louvre, Paris
55 . . The Death of Aigistheus . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
56 . . Figure Mounting a Chariot . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
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[1] The Greek spelling of Selinus is Selinous.

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57 . . Statue of a "Boy" . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
58 . . Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Tyrannicides) Museum, Naples
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59 . . Aristogeiton . . . . . Museum, Naples
60 . . Charioteer of Delphi . . . . . Museum, Delphi
61 . . Discus Thrower, after Myron . . . British Museum, London
62 . . Discus Thrower, after Myron . . . . . Vatican, Rome
63 . . Discus Thrower, after Myron . . . . Lancelotti Palace, Rome
64 . . Discus Thrower (cast with body of 62 and head of 63.)
65*a* . Marsyas . . . . . Lateran, Rome
65*b* . Statuette of Marsyas . . . . . British Museum, London
66 . . A Boxer, probably after Pythagoras, so-called "Apollo with the Omphalos" . . . . . National Museum, Athens
67 . . A Boxer, probably after Pythagoras, so-called "Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo" . . . British Museum, London
68 . . Cassel Apollo . . . . . Museum, Cassel
69 . . Apollo from Pompeii . . . . . Museum, Naples
70 . . Apollo from the Tiber . . . . . Terme, Rome
71 . . Hero or God (Zeus?) . . . . . Glypotothek, Munich
72 . . Spinario . . . . . Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome

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73 . . Statue of a Girl Racer . . . . . Vatican, Rome
74 . . "Penelope" . . . . . Vatican, Rome
A copy of the head belonging to this statue, Plate 453
"Penelope" properly restored, Text Illustration No. 23
75 . . "Hestia" Giustiniani . . . . . Torlonia, Rome
76 . . "Dancers" from Herculaneum . . . . . Museum, Naples
77 . . Statue of a Woman . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen

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Restoration of Temple, Text Illustration No. 13

78 . . North Corner of West Pediment . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
79 . . Fallen Warrior of East Pediment . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
80 . . Fallen Warrior of West Pediment . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
81 . . Standing Spearman of East Pediment . . Glyptothek, Munich
82 . . Archer, "Herakles," of East Pediment
(back view) . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
83 . . Center of West Pediment . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich

Temple of Zeus, Olympia.

Restoration of the Olympia Pediments, Text Illustrations Nos. 20 and 21

84*a* . Oinomaos, East Pediment . . . . . Museum, Olympia
84*b* . Sterope, East Pediment . . . . . Museum, Olympia
85*a* "Kladeos," East Pediment . . . . . Museum, Olympia
85*b* "Alpheios," East Pediment . . . . . Museum, Olympia
86 . . Apollo, West Pediment . . . . . Museum, Olympia
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87*a* . Centaur Holding a Girl by the Hair, West
Pediment . . . . . Museum, Olympia
87*b* . Centaur Biting a Boy, West Pediment . . . Museum, Olympia

88 . . Old Woman, West Pediment . . . . . Museum, Olympia
89 . . Centaur Running away with a Girl, West Pediment . . . . . Museum, Olympia
90 . . Atlas Metope . . . . . Museum, Olympia
91 . . Augeian Stable Metope . . . . . Museum, Olympia
92*a* . Heraklesand Bull Metope . . . . . Museum, Olympia
Stymphalian Birds Metope, Text Illustration No. 18
92*b* . Theseus and Bull, Metope . . . . . Theseion, Athens
Plate 92*b* is placed here for the sake of comparison. It belongs after Plate 133.

93. . . Athena, "Mourning" or "Thinking" . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
94 . . Three Women in Light Garments, so-called "Birth of Aphrodite." Decorative Relief of a Throne . . . . . Terme, Rome
The reliefs of the sides of the throne, Text Illustrations Nos. 16 and 17

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PLATES 95–183. For Grave Reliefs, Portraits and Heads, see Parts IX, X and XI.

Connected with Pheidias and His School.

95 . . Lemnian Athena, cast . . . . . Albertinum, Dresden
Head of this statue on Plate 458
96 . . Athena Parthenos, copy . . . . . Prado, Madrid
Athena Parthenos, head on gem by Aspasios, Text Illustration No. 12
97 . . Athena Parthenos, Varvakeion copy, National Museum, Athens
98 . . Athena Parthenos, Lenormant copy . National Museum, Athens
99*a* . Athena Parthenos, Pergamon copy . . . . . Museum, Berlin
99*b* . Athena Parthenos, copy by Antiochos (?) . . . Terme, Rome
99*c* . Athena Parthenos, copy, "Minerve au Collier" . Louvre, Paris
100 . . Copy of Shield of Athena Parthenos . British Museum, London
101 . . Athena Medici . . . . . École des Beaux Arts, Paris
102*a* . Farnese Athena . . . . . Museum, Naples
102*b* . Hope Athena . . . . . Deepdene, England
102*c* . Albani Athena . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome
103 . . Draped Figure of a Woman (Aphrodite?) . . Museum, Berlin
Apollo, "Barberini Muse", Text Illustration No. 25
104 . . Hera, "Demeter" (Ceres) . . . . . Vatican, Rome
105 . . Hera, "Barberini Juno" . . . . . Vatican, Rome
106 . . Hera, "Borghese Juno", Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
Hera in Vienna, Text Illustration No. 26
107 . . Athena of Velletri . . . . . Louvre, Paris
108 . . Aphrodite, perhaps after Alkamenes, so-called "Venus Genetrix" . . . . . Louvre, Paris
109 . . Woman Running . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
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Paionios.

110 . . Nike of Paionios . . . . . Museum, Olympia
111 . . Restoration of Nike of Paionios . . . . . Museum, Olympia

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112 . . Hermes after Alkamenes from
Pergamon . . . . . Museum, Constantinople
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113 . . Spearbearer (Doryphoros) after Polykleitos . Museum, Naples
A copy of the head of this statue, the bronze herm in Naples, Plate 457*a*.
114 . . Man Fastening His Fillet (Diadoumenos) after Polykleitos, Vaison copy . British Museum, London
115 . . Man Fastening His Fillet (Diadoumenos) after Polykleitos. Delos copy . . National Museum, Athens
Head of this statue, Plate 455.
116*a* . Man Tying His Fillet (Diadoumenos) after Polykleitos, Madrid copy . . . . . Prado, Madrid
116*b* . Man Fastening His Fillet (Diadoumenos) . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
117 . . Man Fastening His Fillet (Farnese Diadoumenos), perhaps copy after Pheidias . British Museum, London
Placed here for the sake of comparison. It belongs after the School of Pheidias.
118 . . Amazon, Berlin type . . . . . Museum, Berlin
A probable copy of the head of this statue, the bronze herm in Naples, Plate 457*b*.
119 . . Amazon . . . . . Lansdowne House, London
120 . . Amazon, Capitoline type . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
121 . . Amazon, Mattei type . . . . . Vatican, Rome
122*a* . Statuette of a Youth . . . . . Louvre, Paris
122*b* . Westmacott Athlete . . . . . British Museum, London
122*c* . Statuette of a Young Satyr . . Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

123 . . Statue of a Youth,
"L'Idolino" . . . . . Archæological Museum, Florence
124 . . Hermes . . . . . Museum, Boston
125 . . Ares, "Borghese Mars" . . . . . Louvre, Paris

Unidentified or Doubtful.

126*a* . Athlete Dropping Oil in His Hand . . . Glyptothek, Munich
126*b* . Standing Discus Thrower . . . . . Vatican, Rome
127 . . "Apollo" from Eleusis . . . . . Museum, Berlin
128 . . Asklepios or Zeus . . . . . Albertinum, Dresden
129 . . The Dioskouroi, Castor and Pollux . . . Monte Cavallo, Rome

Temple Sculpture.

The Theseion, Athens.

130 . . The "Theseion" . . . . . Athens
Metope of Theseion, Plate 92*b*.
131-133 The "Theseion" Frieze . . . . . Theseion, Athens

The Parthenon, Athens.

134 . . Restoration of the Akropolis of Athens.
135 . . The Parthenon from the North West.

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136 . . The "Fates," East Pediment . . . . British Museum, London
137 . . "Theseus," East Pediment . . . . British Museum, London
138 . . "Iris" East Pediment . . . . . British Museum, London
139 . . "Nike," East Pediment . . . . . British Museum, London
140*a* . Helios and Horses, East Pediment . British Museum, London
140*b* . Selene and Horse, East Pediment . . . . Athens and London
Carrey's (?) Drawings of Pediments, Text Illustration No. 22
141 . . "Kephissos" or "Ilissos," West
Pediment . . . . . British Museum, London
"Hermes," West Pediment, Text Illustration, No. 24
Relief of Birth of Athena, Madrid, Text Illustration, No. 30
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The Frieze.

(For the complete reproductions of the Parthenon frieze see the plates accompanying the Handbook.)

142-156 West Frieze, complete . . . . . Parthenon, Athens

Plate 142 includes, besides the last man of the West Frieze, the first two figures of the North Frieze.

157 . . Seated Gods, East Frieze . . . . . British Museum, London

158 . . Maidens, East Frieze . . . . . Louvre, Paris

159 . . Aphrodite, Eros and Magistrates, East Frieze . . . . . British Museum, London

The Metopes.

160–164 Nine Metopes of the Parthenon . . British Museum, London

The Erechtheion, Athens.

165 . . The Erechtheion.

Another view of the Erechtheion, Text Illustration No. 34

166 . . One of the Maidens (Karyatides), porch of the Erechtheion . . . . . British Museum, London

167 . . A Roman Karyatid . . . . . Vatican, Rome

A "Karyatid" in Copenhagen, Plate 317

Giant from Agrigentum, Text Illustration No. 35

Plate 167 and Text Illustration No. 35 are placed here for the sake of comparison.

The Athena-Nike Temple, Athens.

168 . . The Athena-Nike Temple . . . . . Athens

169 . . Slabs from the West Frieze . . . . British Museum, London

Slabs from the East Frieze, Text Illustrations Nos. 37 and 38

170 . . Nike Fastening Her Sandal, from the balustrade . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens

Girls Decorating a herm, Text Illustration No. 32

171 . . Two Nike Figures with a Bull, from the balustrade . . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens

Roman Relief with a Motive Similar to Plate 171, Text Illustration No. 33

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The Temple of Apollo at Bassai near Phigaleia.

172 . . Two Slabs of the Frieze . . . . . British Museum, London
173 . . Two Slabs of the Frieze . . . . . British Museum, London

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Reconstruction of the Nereid Monument,
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174 . . Reconstruction of a Part of the Nereid Monument . . . . . British Museum, London
175*a* . Nereid . . . . . British Museum, London
175*b* . Nereid . . . . . British Museum, London
176 . . Nereid . . . . . British Museum, London

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177 . . Parts of the Reliefs from Gyolbashi . . . . Museum, Vienna

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178 . . Eleusinian Relief . . . . . National Museum, Athens
179 . . Orpheus, Eurydike and Hermes . . . . . Museum, Naples
180 . . Hermes and the Nymphs . . . . . Museum, Berlin
181[1] . Medea and the Daughters of Pelias . . . . . Museum, Berlin
182 . . Fragment of a Horseman . . . . . Vatican, Rome
183 . . Votive Relief . . . . . Museum, Boston

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[1] It became necessary at the last moment to substitute the Berlin copy of this relief for the better one in the Lateran Museum, Rome. The Handbook contains a description of the latter relief.

Part Five.— Fourth Century.

PLATES 184–253. For Grave Reliefs, Portraits and Heads see Parts IX, X and XI.

Kephisodotos.

184 . . Eirene and Ploutos . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
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Praxiteles and His School.

Statues of Men.

185 . . "Apollo" Sauroktonos . . . . . Vatican, Rome
186 . . "Apollo" Sauroktonos . . . . . Louvre, Paris
"Apollo" Sauroktonos (bronze), Villa Albani,
Text Illustration No. 27
187 . . Dionysos, "Sardanapallos" . . . . . Vatican, Rome
188 . . Eros with Bow . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
189 . . Eros Centocelle . . . . . Vatican, Rome
190 . . Hermes of Praxiteles . . . . . Museum, Olympia
Head of this statue on Plate 466
Hermes Bringing Dionysos to the Nymphs,
Text Illustration, No. 31
191 . . Hermes of Andros . . . . . National Museum, Athens
Head of this statue, Plate 465
192 . . Hermes Belvedere . . . . . Vatican, Rome
193 . . Hermes Farnese . . . . . British Museum, London
194 . . "Narkissos" (probably a Dionysos) . . . . Museum, Naples
195 . . Satyr, "Marble Faun" . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
196 . . Satyr, torso . . . . . Louvre, Paris
197 . . Satyr Pouring Wine . . . . . Terme, Rome

Statues of Women.

198 . . Aphrodite (Knidian) nude, from the cast . . . Vatican, Rome
199*a* . Aphrodite (Knidian) with metal drapery . . . Vatican, Rome
199*b* . Aphrodite . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
200 . . Aphrodite Anadyomene
(Pselioumene) . . . . . British Museum, London
201 . . Aphrodite, Capitoline . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
202 . . Aphrodite, "Venus dei Medici" . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
203 . . Aphrodite of Arles . . . . . Louvre, Paris
204 . . Aphrodite . . . . . Museum, Syracuse
205 . . Artemis from Cyprus . . . . . Museum, Vienna
206 . . Artemis-Tyche (Isis-Tyche) . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
207 . . Artemis of Gabii . . . . . Louvre, Paris
208*a* . Maiden from Herculaneum . . . . . Albertinum, Dresden
208*b* . Matron from Herculaneum . . . . . Albertinum, Dresden

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209*a* . Three Graces . . . . . Library, Cathedral, Siena
Head of one of these graces, Plate 473*b*
209*b* . Boy and Girl, "Eros and Psyche" . . . . . Capitoline, Rome

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210-212 Slabs of Marble Base from
Mantineia . . . . . National Museum, Athens

Skopas and His School.

213 . . Ares Ludovisi . . . . . Terme, Rome
214 . . Meleager . . . . . Museum, Berlin
215 . . Meleager . . . . . Harvard University, Cambridge
216 . . Meleager . . . . . Vatican, Rome
217 . . Drum from Ephesos . . . . . British Museum, London
218 . . Drum from Ephesos, another view . British Museum, London
219 . . Bacchic Procession . . . . . Museum, Naples

Works Brought in Connection with Praxiteles and Skopas on Doubtful Authority.

The Niobe Group and Related Figures.

220 . . Niobe and Daughter . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
221 . . Niobid Chiaramonti . . . . . Vatican, Rome
222 . . Niobid, resembling Niobid Chiaramonti . . . Uffizi, Florence
223 . . Dying Niobid . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
224 . . Fleeing Sons . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
Son and Daughter, Vatican, Text Illustration, No. 41
225*a* . Paedagog (with boy) . . . . . Louvre, Paris
225*b* . Paedagog . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
226 . . Kneeling Youth from Subiaco . . . . . Terme, Rome
227 . . "Ilioneus" . . . . . Museum, Munich
Plates 226 and 227, although not belonging to the Niobe group, have been placed here because they are most readily looked for in this connection.

The Maussolleion Sculpture.

Maussollos and Artemisia, Plate 404. Head of a Woman, Plate 475*a*.

228 . . Slab of the Large Amazon Frieze . British Museum, London
229*a* . Slab of the Large Amazon Frieze . British Museum, London
229*b* . Slab of the Large Amazon Frieze . British Museum, London
230*a* . Slab of the Large Amazon Frieze . British Museum, London
230*b* . Slab of the Large Amazon Frieze . British Museum, London
231 . . Charioteer of the Small Frieze . . . British Museum, London
232 . . Charioteer (?), "Apollo" . . . . . Museum, Boston
Placed here for the sake of comparison with Plate 231.

Leochares.

233 . . Ganymedes and the Eagle . . . . . Vatican, Rome

Lysippos and His School.

234 . . Hagias, after Lysippos . . . . . Museum, Delphi
235 . . Apoxyomenos, after Lysippos . . . . . Vatican, Rome

236 . . Herakles Farnese . . . . . Museum, Naples
Herakles, bronze statuette, Louvre, Text Illustration, No. 36
237 . . Hermes Reposing . . . . . Museum, Naples
238*a* . Hermes Fastening Sandal . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
238*b* . Hermes Fastening Sandal, "Jason" . . . . . Louvre, Paris
239 . . Poseidon . . . . . Lateran, Rome
Alexander, Plate 399

Sculptors of Epidauros.

240*a* . Nike from Epidauros . . . . . National Museum, Athens
240*b* . Nike from Epidauros . . . . . National Museum, Athens

Thrasymedes.

241*a* . Asklepios Relief, copy of statue by Thrasymedes . . . . . National Museum, Athens
241*b* . Asklepios, another relief, copy of statue by Thrasymedes . . . . . National Museum, Athens

Timotheos.

242 . . Amazon, Mounted . . . . . National Museum, Athens
243 . . Amazon, Mounted . . . . . Museum, Boston
Placed here for the sake of comparison with Plate 242.
244 . . Two Nereids, Mounted . . . . . National Museum, Athens

Artists Unknown.

245*a* . Silenos and Infant Dionysos . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
245*b* . Silenos and Infant Dionysos . . . . . Vatican, Rome
245*c* . Silenos and Infant Dionysos . . . . . Louvre, Paris
246 . . Torso Belvedere . . . . . Vatican, Rome
247 . . Demeter of Knidos . . . . . British Museum, London
248 . . Flora Farnese . . . . . Museum, Naples
249*a* . Demeter . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
249*b* . Kybele . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
250 . . Nymph . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
251 . . Psyche of Capua . . . . . Museum, Naples
252 . . Woman from Kyzikos . . . . . Museum, Berlin
253 . . Lysikrates Monument . . . . . Athens

Part Six.—The Hellenistic Period.

THE AUTUMN DAYS OF GREEK SCULPTURE.

PLATES 254–315. For Grave Reliefs, Portraits and Heads, see Parts IX, X and XI.

A. IDENTIFIED SCULPTURE.

1. BY ARTISTS.

Boethos.

254 . . Boy with Goose . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich

Damophon.

255 . . Fragment of Drapery . . . . . National Museum, Athens

Eutychides.

256 . . Statue of the Tyche[1] of Antiocheia . . . . . Vatican, Rome

2. BY SCHOOLS.

Pergamon, First School.

257 . . Dying Gaul . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
258 . . Dying Gaul (back) . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
259 . . Gaul and His Wife . . . . . Terme, Rome
260 . . Slave Sharpening Knife . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
261 . . Marsyas and Slave, suggestion as to appearance of the original; combination group of Marsyas in the Louvre and the Slave, Plate 260.

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[1] Tyche is the name of the Greek goddess of Good Luck.

Attalos Group.

262 . . Dead Amazon . . . . . Museum, Naples
263 . . Dead Giant . . . . . Museum, Nables
264*a* . Dying Gaul . . . . . Museum, Naples
264*b* . Dead Persian . . . . . Museum, Naples

Pergamon, Second School.

265 . . Restoration of Pergamon Alter . . Pergamon Museum, Berlin
266 . . Two Slabs of Large Frieze . . . . Pergamon Museum, Berlin
267 . . Two Slabs of Large Frieze . . . . Pergamon Museum, Berlin
268 . . Two Figures from Large Frieze . Pergamon Museum, Berlin
269*a* . Goddess . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
Dancing Woman, relief from Pergamon, Plate 308
Warrior of Delos, Plate 287

Priene.

269*b* Statue of Woman . . . . . British Museum, London

Rhodes.

270 . . Laokoön . . . . . Vatican, Rome
Head of this statue, Plate 484

Tralles.

271 . . Farnese Bull . . . . . Museum, Naples
Farnese Bull, side view, Text Illustration No. 44
Wall Painting from Pompeii with Motive of Farnese Bull, Text Illustration No. 45

B. Artists and Schools Unknown.

Statues of Men.

272 . . Apollo Belvedere . . . . . Vatican, Rome
Head of this statue, Plate 478
273 . . Boy Praying . . . . . Museum, Berlin
274 . . Boy found in the Rhine . . . . . Museum, Berlin

275 . . Centaurs, copies (?) by Papias and Aristeas, Capitoline, Rome
276 . . Youthful Dionysos . . . . . Terme, Rome
277 . . Menelaos and Patroklos . . . . . Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence
The Pasquino, Rome, Text Illustration No. 42
278 . . Nile . . . . . Vatican, Rome
279 . . Poseidon of Melos . . . . . National Museum, Athens
280 . . Satyr, Barberini Faun . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
281 . . Satyr Sleeping . . . . . Museum, Naples
282*a* . Satyr Dancing, bronze . . . . . Museum, Naples
282*b* . Satyr Dancing, marble . . . . . Villa Borghese, Rome
283 . . Satyr Playing Scabellum . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
284 . . Spinario . . . . . British Museum, London
285 . . Triton . . . . . Vatican, Rome
286 . . Warrior Borghese . . . . . Louvre, Paris
287 . . Warrior from Delos . . . . . National Museum, Athens
288 . . Wrestlers . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
289 . . "Wrestlers" . . . . . Museum, Naples
290 . . Youth from Antikythera . . . . . National Museum, Athens
Head of this statue, Plate 486

Statues of Women.

291 . . Aphrodite of Melos (side) . . . . . Louvre, Paris
292*a* . Aphrodite of Melos (front) . . . . . Louvre, Paris
292*b* . Aphrodite (draped torso), ... Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
293 . . Aphrodite of Capua . . . . . Museum, Naples
Head of this statue, Plate 488*a*
294 . . Aphrodite, crouching . . . . . Vatican, Rome
295 . . Ariadne . . . . . Vatican, Rome
296 . . Artemis of Versailles . . . . . Louvre, Paris
297 . . Athena Giustiniani . . . . . Vatican, Rome
298 . . Athena Chiaramonti . . . . . Vatican, Rome
299 . . Muse, Melpomene . . . . . Louvre, Paris
300 . . Muse, Polyhymnia . . . . . Museum, Berlin
301 . . Nike of Brescia . . . . . Museum, Brescia
Head of this statue, Plate 488*b*
302 . . Nike of Samothrace (Victory of Samothrace) Louvre, Paris

303 . . Nike of Samothrace (other view) . . . . . Louvre, Paris
304 . . Themis of Rhamnous . . . . . National Museum, Athens
305 . . Torso, draped woman . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen

Reliefs.

306 . . Endymion Relief . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
307 . . Dancing Woman, theatre Dionysos, National Museum, Athens
308 . . Dancing Woman from Pergamon . . Museum, Constantinople

Groups in Relief.

309 . . Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Nike . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome
310 . . Apotheosis of Homer . . . . . British Museum, London
311 . . Herakles and the Hesperidai . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome
312 . . Paris and Helen . . . . . Museum, Naples
313 . . Peasant Going to Market . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
314 . . Satyr After the Chase . . . . . Louvre, Paris
315 . . Visit of Dionysos . . . . . Museum, Naples

Part Seven.— Græco-Roman, Eclectic and Imitative Sculpture.

PLATES 316–324. For Heads see Part XI.

316 . . Archaistic Pallas, Athena . . . . . Museum, Naples
317 . "Karyatid" . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
Roman Karyatid, Plate 167
318 . . Esquiline Aphrodite . . . . Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome
319 . . Woman Seated . . . . . Museum, Boston
320 . . Woman Standing . . . . . Museum, Boston

SCHOOL OF PASITELES.

321 . . Youth, by Stephanos . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome
322 . . "Orestes and Elektra" . . . . . Terme, Rome
323 . . "Orestes and Pylades" . . . . . Louvre, Paris
324 . . Ildefonso Group . . . . . Prado, Madrid

Part Eight. — Etruscan and Roman National.

PLATES 325–348. For Grave Reliefs and Heads see Parts IX and X.

STATUES.

325*a* . Bronze Chimaera . . . . . Archæological Museum, Florence
325*b* . Wolf of the Capitol . . . . Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome
326 . . Camillus . . . . . Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome
327 . . Orator . . . . . Archæologieal Museum, Florence
328 . . Togatus Sacrificing . . . . . Vatican, Rome
329*a* "Thusnelda" . . . . . Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence
329*b* . Togatus . . . . . British Museum, London
330 . . Minerva, bronze, commonly called Etruscan . . . . . Archæological Museum, Florence

SECULAR RELIEFS.

Age of Augustus.

331 . . Procession, Ara Pacis . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
332 . . Procession, Ara Pacis . . . . . Uffizi, Florence
333 . . Relief and Floral Pattern from Ara Pacis . . . Terme, Rome
See also Frontispiece

Age of Titus.

334 . . Triumphal Procession, arch of Titus . . . . . Forum, Rome
335 . . Spoils of Jerusalem, arch of Titus . . . . . Forum, Rome

Age of Trajan.

336*a* . Column of Trajan . . . . . Forum of Trajan, Rome
336*b* . Column of Marcus Aurelius (Column of "Antonine") . . . . . Piazza Colonna, Rome
This is placed here for the sake of comparison. It belongs after Plate 343

337 . . Reliefs in Forum . . . . . Forum, Rome
338 . . Reliefs from Triumphal Arch . . . . . Beneventum
339 . . Trajan and His Suit . . . . . Lateran, Rome
Nike, Column of Trajan, Text Illustration No. 28
See also Plates 346 and 347

Age of Hadrian.

340 . . Reliefs . . . . . Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome

Age of Antonine.

341 . . Apotheosis of Antonine . . . . . Vatican, Rome

Age of Marcus Aurelius.

Column, see Plate 336*b*.
342 . . Reliefs from Column of Marcus Aurelius "of Antonine" . . . . . Piazza Colonna, Rome
343 . . Relief from Column of Marcus Aurelius . . . . . Piazza Colonna, Rome
344 . . Reliefs . . . . . Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome

Age of Septimius Severus.

345 . . Triumphal Arch . . . . . Forum, Rome

Age of Constantine.

346*a* . Relief on Triumphal Arch of Constantine; Sacrifice of Trajan . . . . . Forum, Rome
346*b* . Relief on Triumphal Arch of Constantine; Marcus Aurelius and His Troops . . . . . Forum, Rome
347*a* . Relief on Triumphal Arch of Constantine; Trajan on the Lion Skin . . . . . Forum, Rome
347*b* . Relief on Triumphal Arch of Constantine; Trajan and the Boar . . . . . Forum, Rome
347*c* . Relief on Triumphal Arch of Constantine; Constantine enthroned, surrounded by the people Forum, Rome
The arch was built by Constantine. Most of the reliefs were taken from earlier and better arches.

Temple Reliefs.

348 . . Temple of Minerva, part of the frieze, *in situ* . . . . . Rome

Part Nine.— Grave Reliefs.

PLATES 349–386. See also Plates 11*a*, 174–176, 177, 228–231.

Single Figures.

349*a* . Grave Relief by Alxenor . . . . . National Museum, Athens
349*b* . Grave Relief, resembling that of Alxenor . . Museum, Naples
350*a* . Grave Relief of Aristion . . . . . National Museum, Athens
350*b* . Grave Relief of Agathokles . . . . National Museum, Athens
351 . . Discus-carrier Head . . . . . National Museum, Athens
352 . . Spearbearer, Head . . . . . Museum, Berlin
353 . . Head of a Youth, from Athens . . . . . Museum, Berlin
354*a* . Grave Relief of a Young Girl . . . . . Museum, Berlin
354*b* . Grave Relief of Woman Heavily Draped . . . . . National Museum, Athens
355 . . Grave Relief of Philis . . . . . Louvre, Paris
356 . . Fragment of Grave Relief of a Warrior . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
357 . . Grave Relief of Aristonautes . . . National Museum, Athens

Two Figures.

358 . . Grave Relief from Pharsalos . . . . . Louvre, Paris
359 . . Grave Relief of Hegeso . . Outside the Dipylon Gate, Athens
360 . . Grave Relief, similar to relief of Hegeso, Plate 359, from the Peiraios. . . National Museum, Athens
361 . . Grave Relief similar to Plate 359 . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
362 . . Grave Relief of a Youth with His Boy Servant and His Cat . . . . . National Museum, Athens
363 . . Grave Relief of a Youth Attended by an Old Man . . . . . National Museum, Athens
364 . . Grave Relief of Horseman with Whip from Thespiai . . . . . National Museum, Athens
Placed here for the sake of comparison with Dexileos, Plate 365.
It belongs after Plate 357
365 . . Grave Relief of Dexileos . Outside the Dipylon Gate, Athens
366 . . Grave Relief of a Horseman, similar to that of Dexileos . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome

Three or More Figures.

367*a* . Spartan Grave Relief . . . . . Museum, Berlin
367*b* . Grave Relief of a Mother, formerly called Ino-Leukothea relief . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome
368 . . Grave Relief, seated woman on tilted chair, two attendants, frame restored . National Museum, Athens
369 . . Grave Relief, found in the bed of the Ilissos, youth and grieving father (?), little slave and dog below . . . . . National Museum, Athens
370 . . Grave Relief, seated woman, standing woman, man in the background . . . . . National Museum, Athens
371 . . Grave Relief, two standing figures, slave girl tying the sandal of her mistress . . National Museum, Athens
372 . . Grave Relief of Korallion . . . Outside the Dipylon, Athens
373 . . Grave Relief of Protonoe . . . . Outside the Dipylon, Athens
374 . . Grave Relief of Damasistrate . . . National Museum, Athens

Roman Grave Reliefs.

375 . . Tombstone of Husband and Wife, so-called Porcia and Cato . . . . . Vatican, Rome

Tomb Decorations Other than the Ordinary Grave Reliefs.

376 . . Two Mourning Women Seated . . . . . Museum, Berlin
Kitylos and Dermys, Plate 11*a*
"Penelope," Plate 74
"Orestes and Elektra," Plate 322
377 . . Two Funeral Vases . . . . . National Museum, Athens
A Very Ornate Vase, Text Illustration No. 43
378 . . Side of Sarcophagus of the Satrap . . Museum, Constantinople
379 . "Alexander" Sarcophagus (front) . . Museum, Constantinople
380 . "Alexander" Sarcophagus (back) . . Museum, Constantinople
381 . . Heads from "Alexander" Sarcophagus . Museum, Constantinople
382 . . Heads from "Alexander" Sarcophagus . Museum, Constantinople
383*a* "Alexander" Sarcophagus (end) . . . Museum, Constantinople
383*b* . Lycian Sarcophagus (end) . . . . . Museum, Constantinople
384*a-b*. Lycian Sarcophagus (both sides) . . Museum, Constantinople
385*a-b*. Mourning Women Sarcophagus (both sides) . . . . . Museum, Constantinople
386 . . Mourning Women Sarcophagus (end) Museum, Constantinople

Part Ten. — Portraits.

I. Greek Portraits, Plates 387–438.

Imaginary Portraits.

387 . . Aisopos . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome
388 . . Anakreon Standing . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
389 . . Anakreon Seated . . . . . Villa Borghese, Rome
390 . . Anakreon, head . . . . . Museum, Berlin
391*a* . Miltiades . . . . . Louvre, Paris
391*b* . Menelaos . . . . . Vatican, Rome
392 . . Homer . . . . . Museum, Naples
393 . . "Sappho," bronze . . . . . Museum, Naples
394*a* . "Sappho," marble . . . . . British Museum, London

Portraits Possibly From Life.

394*b* . Aspasia . . . . . Vatican, Rome
395 . . Aischines . . . . . Museum, Naples
396 . . Alexander, head . . . . . Museum, Boston
397 . . Alexander, often called head of Helios . . . Capitoline, Rome
398 . . Alexander, bust . . . . . Louvre, Paris
399 . . Alexander, statue . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
"Alexander" head, British Museum, London, Plate 479*b*
400 . . Berenike . . . . . Museum, Naples
401 . . Demosthenes . . . . . Vatican, Rome
402*a* . Euripides . . . . . Museum, Naples
402*b* . Euripides . . . . . Museum, Berlin
403*a* . Euripides . . . . . Museum, Mantua
403*b* . Menander (?) Virgil (?) . . . . . Museum, Boston
404*a* . Artemisia . . . . . British Museum, London

404*b* . Maussollos . . . . . British Museum, London
405 . . Menander . . . . . Vatican, Rome
406*a* . Perikles . . . . . Vatican, Rome
406*b* . Perikles . . . . . British Museum, London
407 . . Phokion . . . . . Vatican, Rome
408 . . Plato . . . . . Museum, Berlin
409 . . Poseidippos . . . . . Vatican, Rome
410 . . Ptolemy . . . . . Museum, Naples
411*a* . Sokrates . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
411*b* . Sokrates and Seneca . . . . . Museum, Berlin
412 . . Sophokles . . . . . Lateran, Rome
413 . . Unknown Man Leaning on His Spear . . . . . Terme, Rome

II. Roman Portraits.

Portraits of Men.

414*a* . Agrippa . . . . . Louvre, Paris
414*b* . Portrait of Unknown Man . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
415 . . Antinoos (colossal) . . . . . Vatican, Rome
416 . . Antinoos Mandragone . . . . . Louvre, Paris
417 . . Antinoos . . . . . Villa Albani
418 . . Augustus from Prima Porta . . . . . Vatican, Rome
419 . . Augustus, standing, dressed in toga . . . . . Louvre, Paris
420*a* . Augustus, head . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
420*b* . Augustus . . . . . Vatican, Rome
421*a* . Brutus II . . . . . Museum, Naples
421*b* . Young Marcus Aurelius . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
422*a* . Cæsar . . . . . Museum, Naples
422*b* . Cæsar . . . . . Louvre, Paris
423*a* . Cæsar (front) . . . . . British Museum, London
423*b* . Cæsar (profile) . . . . . British Museum, London
424*a* . Caligula . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
424*b* . Antoninus Pius . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
425*a* . Caracalla . . . . . Museum, Naples
425*b* . Commodus . . . . . Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome
426 . . Cicero . . . . . Vatican, Rome
427 . . Germanicus . . . . . Louvre, Paris

428 . . Marcus Aurelius (equestrian) . . Square of the Capitol, Rome
429*a* . Pompey . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
429*b* . Hadrian . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen

Portraits of Women.

430 . . Agrippina, the Elder (bust) . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
431 . . Agrippina (?) . . . . . Museum, Naples
432 . . Seated Woman, "Agrippina" . . . . . Capitoline, Rome
433 . . Seated Woman, "Agrippina" . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome
434 . . Faustina . . . . . Villa Albani, Rome
435 . . Livia "Pudicitia" . . . . . Vatican, Rome

Portraits of Unknown Men and Women.

436 . . Unknown Man, terra cotta head (front) . . . Museum, Boston
437 . . Unknown Man, terra cotta head (profile) . . Museum, Boston
438 . . Two Unknown Women, Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
See also Plate 329*b*

Part Eleven.— Heads.

PLATES 439–500. For Portrait Heads see Part X.

I. MYCENÆAN AGE.

For heads of this period see Part I.

II. ARCHAIC PERIOD.

439 . . Head of a Youth, marble . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
440 . . Head of a Youth, marble . . . . Akropolis Museum, Athens
441 . . Head of a Youth, "Speusippos," bronze . . . Museum, Naples
442 . . Bearded Warrior . . . . . National Museum, Athens
443 . . Profile Views of 440 and 442
444 . . Bearded and Once Helmeted Head, front and profile . . . . . Museum, Berlin
445 . . Artemis (?) . . . . . Museum, Boston

III. TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

Heads of Men.

446 . . Apollo of Olympia . . . . . Museum, Olympia
447 . . "Apollo," marble . . . . . Louvre, Paris
448 . . "Apollo," marble bust . . . . . Museum, Naples
449*a* . "Apollo," marble . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
449*b* . "Apollo," bronze . . . . . Museum, Naples
450*a* . "Apollo" (Iakchos), marble . . . . British Museum, London
450*b* . Bearded Man, "Dionysos," marble . British Museum, London
451*a* . Youth, style of Myron . . . . . Palazzo Riccardi, Florence
451*b* . Youth, style of Myron, Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen

Heads of Women.

452*a* . Akroterion, Head of Woman, Aigina . . Glyptothek, Munich
452*b* . Athena, East Pediment, Aigina . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
453 . . Head of "Penelope". . . . . Museum, Berlin

IV. Fifth Century.

Heads of Men.

454*a* . "Apollo" . . . . . Louvre, Paris
454*b* . Youth, marble . . . . . Museum, Berlin
455 . . Delian Diadoumenos, head . . . . National Museum, Athens
456 . . Youth, marble . . . . . Museum, Berlin
457*a* . Doryphoros, bronze herme . . . . . Museum, Naples

Heads of Women.

457*b* . Amazon, bronze herme . . . . . Museum, Naples
458 . . Lemnian Athena . . . . . Museum, Bologna
459 . . Athena, painted eyes, marble . . . . . Vatican, Rome
460 . . Goddess, Weber Head . . . . . Laborde Collection, Paris
461 . . Hera Farnese, marble . . . . . Museum, Naples
462 . . Hera, marble . . . . . Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, Copenhagen
463 . . Hera from Argos, marble . . . . National Museum, Athens

V. Fourth Century.

Style of Praxiteles.

464 . . Eubouleus, marble . . . . . National Museum, Athens
465 . . Hermes of Andros . . . . . National Museum, Athens
466 . . Hermes of Praxiteles . . . . . Museum, Olympia
467 . . Hypnos . . . . . British Museum, London
468 . . Head of Woman, marble . . . . . Museum, Boston

Style of Skopas.

469 . . Tegea Heads . . . . . National Museum, Athens
470*a* . Woman, replica of Plate 471 . . . . . Museum, Berlin
470*b* . Head of Youth, marble . . . . . Museum, Boston
471 . . Woman from Slope of Akropolis, marble . . Museum, Athens

Styles of Various Artists.

472 . . Asklepios of Melos . . . . . British Museum, London
473*a* . Eirene and Ploutos . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
473*b* . Grace from Group in Siena . . . . Library, Cathedral, Siena
474 . . Hera Ludovisi . . . . . Terme, Rome

475*a* . Head of Woman, Maussolleion . . British Museum, London
475*b* . Head of Woman, marble . . . . . Terme, Rome
476 . . Head, resembling Knidian Demeter . . . . Museum, Berlin

VI. Hellenistic Period.

Heads of Men.

477 . . Anytos by Damophon . . . . . National Museum, Athens
478 . . Apollo Belvedere . . . . . Vatican, Rome
479*a* . Apollo Musagetes, marble . . . . . British Museum, London
479*b* . "Alexander" Head . . . . . British Museum, London
480 . Pourtalès Apollo (front and profile) . British Museum, London
481 . Athlete, bronze (front and profile) . . . . . Louvre, Paris
482 . . Athlete, professional (bronze) . . National Museum, Athens
483*a* . Centaur, marble . . . . . Vatican, Rome
483*b* . God (sea deity), marble . . . . . Vatican, Rome
484 . . Laokoön . . . . . Vatican, Rome
485 . . Satyr, bronze bust . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
486 . . Youth from Antikythera, bronze . National Museum, Athens
487 . . Zeus Otricoli . . . . . Vatican, Rome

Heads of Women.

488*a* . Aphrodite of Capua, marble . . . . . Museum, Naples
488*b* . Nike of Brescia, bronze . . . . . Museum, Brescia
489 . . Artemis by Damophon, marble . . National Museum, Athens
490 . . Athena by Euboulides . . . . . National Museum, Athens
491 . . Ariadne, sleeping (marble) . . . . . Terme, Rome
492 . . Demeter by Damophon . . . . . National Museum, Athens
493 . . Head from Cyprus, marble . . . . . Museum, Berlin
494 . . Head of Woman, marble (front and profile) . Museum, Boston
495 . . "Medusa" Ludovisi . . . . . Terme, Rome
496 . . Medusa Rondanini . . . . . Glyptothek, Munich
497 . . Medusa, winged, sleeping . . . . . Louvre, Paris

VII. Græco-Roman, Eclectic and Imitative Sculpture.

498 . . Dionysos, bearded, archaistic . . . . . Museum, Naples
499 . . Zeus Talleyrand . . . . . Louvre, Paris
500 . . Realistic Head . . . . . National Museum, Athens

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National Museum: 4, 7–13, 15, 20, 32, 38, 66, 97, 98, 115, 178, 191, 210–212, 240–242, 244, 255, 279, 287, 290, 304, 307, 349a, 350, 351, 354b, 357, 360, 362–364, 368–371, 374, 377, 455, 463–465, 469, 471, 477, 482, 486, 489, 490, 492, 500.

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Lysikrates Monument: 253.

Parthenon: 142–156.

Theseion: 92b, 130–133.

BENEVENTUM, Arch of Trajan: 338.

BERLIN, Neues und Altes Museum: 17b, 48b, 99a, 103, 118, 127, 180, 181, 214, 252, 273, 274, 300, 352, 353, 354a, 367a, 376, 390, 402b, 408, 411b, 444, 453, 454b, 456, 470a, 476, 493.

Pergamon Museum: 265–268.

BOLOGNA, Museo Civico: 458.

BOSTON, Museum of Fine Arts: 124, 183, 232, 243, 319, 320, 396, 403b, 436, 437, 445, 468, 470b, 494.

BRESCIA, Museo Patrio: 301, 488b.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U. S. A., Fogg Museum of Harvard University: 215.

CANDIA, Crete, Museum: 5.

CASSEL, Museum Fridericianum: 68.

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COPENHAGEN, Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg: 55, 77, 106, 109, 116b, 249, 250, 292b, 305, 317, 356, 361, 388, 389, 420a, 424, 429, 438, 451b, 462.

CRETE, Candia: 5

Knossos: 1.

Phaistos: 2.

DEEPDENE, England: 102b.

DELPHI, Museum: 43, 44, 60, 234.

DRESDEN, Albertinum: 95, 128, 208.

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Chronological List of Important Artists

BASED LARGELY ON ANCIENT LITERATURE.

Largely Mythical.

In Crete	In Athens	In Aigina	In Samos	In Chios
Daidalos	Endoios	Smilis	Rhoikos	Melas
Dipoinos			Theodoros	Mikkiades
Skyllis			Telekles	Archermos
			Botades	Boupalos
				Athenis

Archaic Period.

In Argos	In Sikyon	In Aigina	In Athens	In Elis
Ageladas	Kanachos	Kallon	Antenor	Kallon
Glaukos	Aristokles	Onatas	Hegias	
Dionysios		Glaukias	Aristokles	In Rhegion
				Klearchos

Transitional Period.

In Rhegion	In Athens
Pythagoras	Kritios
(born in Samos)	Nesiotes
	Kalamis
	Myron
	(born in Eleuterai)

Fifth Century.

In Athens	In Argos and Sikyon	In Various Places
Pheidias	Polykleitos	Paionios of Mende
Alkamenes	Kanachos	Theokosmos of Megara
Agorakritos	Daidalos	Styppax of Kypros
(born in Paros)	Naukydes	Kresilas of Crete

Kolotes
Praxias
Androsthenes
Lykios
Strongylion
Kallimachos
Demetrios of Alopeke

Fourth Century.

Athens		Argos and Sikyon	Various Places
Kephisodotos	Bryaxis	Lysippos	Thrasymedes
Skopas	Silanion		Timotheos
(born in Paros)	Polyeuktos		Sthennis
Praxiteles			(born in Olynthos)
Leochares			Euphranor

Hellenistic Period and Later.

Lysistratos
Eutychides
Boethos
Chares
Damophon

From this time on the importance of the individual artists waned before the importance of the local centres to which they were attached. The best known of these centres were:

Pergamon Priene Rhodes Tralles

Famous names of the late sculptors are:

Pasiteles
Stephanos
Menelaos
Arkesilaos
Zenodoros
Aristeas
Papias
Glykon
Salpion
Kleomenes
Sosibios
Apollonios of Tralles
Tauriskos
Apollonios of Athens

Brief Bibliography of Greek and Roman Sculpture

AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN REFERRING TO SOME OF THE BOOKS.

A short, selected and graded bibliography is given in E. von Mach, pp. 343ff.

A larger and very well arranged bibliography is given in *A. J. A.*, Second Series, Vol. I, 1897, Appendix, pp. 128ff.

The most complete bibliography is contained in the *Katalog der Bibliothek des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archæologischen Instituts in Rom* von August Mau. Two volumes. This catalogue, which is very full, although it lacks the names of some important English books, ought to be in every library.

Bibliographies to special subjects are given in the introductions to the several parts of the Handbook and in the discussions of the several monuments.

The following list contains the names of some of the books which those interested in Greek and Roman sculpture will find most useful. High priced books are mentioned only when less expensive good books are not in existence. In the cases where the names of more than one book on a given subject are listed, the descriptive notes will guide the student.

General Books.

H. von Brunn; *Geschichte der Griechischen Künstler;* Brunn; Stuttgart. $5.00. Excellent, and although written about fifty years ago, still essentially accurate.

M. Collignon; *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque;* Firmin, Dido et Cie.; Paris, France. $12.00. Beautifully illustrated, written by a sound scholar, who also is a master of style . . . Collignon

Fowler & Wheeler; *Greek Archæology.* In preparation. American Book Company.

A. Furtwängler, translated and edited by Eugenie Sellers; *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture;* Heinemann; London. $15.00. Invaluable to advanced students of classical archæology. Brilliant and stimulating, but not always convincing
Masterpieces or Furtwängler

Ernest A. Gardner; *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture;* The Macmillan Co.; New York City. $2.50. Reliable, up-to-date, almost complete . . . . . Gardner

W. Lübke, translated by R. Sturgis; *History of Sculpture;* Dodd & Mead Co.; New York City. $10.00. The best short history of the sculpture of the world.

Edmund von Mach; *Greek Sculpture, Its Spirit and Principles;* Ginn & Co.; Boston. $4.50, for teachers and classes $2.25.
E. von Mach

Anton Springer, revised by Adolf Michaelis; *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte,* Vol. I, *Das Altertum;* E. A. Seemann; Leipzig. $2.00. Brief, up-to-date, with excellent illustrations. One of the most useful books for the beginner. It discusses not only sculpture, but also painting, architecture and the minor arts . Michaelis

A. S. Murray; *History of Greek Sculpture;* John Murray; London. $9.00. Original and interesting.

Johannes Overbeck; *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik;* J. C. Hinrich; Leipzig. $9.00. The most complete and scholarly work on the subject; no view is advanced which is not fully supported by argument . . . . . Overbeck

P. Paris, translated by Jane E. Harrison; *Manual of Ancient Sculpture;* J. B. Lippincott Co.; Philadelphia. $3.00. An interesting general introduction to the subject.

Max G. Zimmerman; *Kunstgeschichte des Altertums und des Mittelalters;* Velhagen & Klasing; Leipzig. $2.50. It deserves the same high praise as Springer's *Handbuch* . . . Zimmermann

F. B. Tarbell; *A History of Greek Art,* with an introductory chapter on art in Egypt and Mesopotamia; The Macmillan Co.; New York City. $1.00. A short, accurate and fully illustrated compendium . . . . . Tarbell

Books on Special Topics.

H. R. Hall; *The Oldest Civilization of Greece;* David Nutt; London. $3.00. A very detailed account of the arguments on which the accepted accounts of the Mycenæan Age are based.

Chr. Tsountas and J. I. Manatt; *The Mycenæan Age;* Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; Boston. $6.00. The standard book in English.

C. Schuchhardt, translated by Eugenie Sellers; *Schliemann's Excavations;* The Macmillan Co.; New York. $4.00. The most convenient reference book to the excavations of Schliemann.

A. Joubin; *La Sculpture Grècque entre les Guerres Médiques et l' Epoque de Périclès;* Hachette & Cie.; Paris. $2.50. A full and interesting account of this period.

M. Collignon; *Phidias;* Librairie de l' Art; Paris. $0.75. Short biography and discussion of the works of Pheidias.

Adolf Michaelis; *Der Parthenon;* Breitkoff & Härtel; Leipzig. $7.50. The standard book on the Parthenon.

A. S. Murray; *The Sculptures of the Parthenon;* E. P. Dutton & Co.; New York. $6.50. The last book of an original scholar who knew and loved the Parthenon sculptures well.

Charles Waldstein; *Essays on the Art of Pheidias;* Century Co.; New York. $7.50. In part brilliant and always interesting.

Th. Davidson; *The Parthenon Frieze;* Kegan Paul; London. $2.00. Very interesting, but not generally accepted as trustworthy in every detail.

A. Mahler; *Polyklet und Seine Schule;* Barth; Athens and Leipzig. $2.25. The most recent scholarly discussion of the works of Polykleitos.

P. Paris; *Polyclète;* Librairie de l' Art; Paris. $0.85. Short biography and discussion of the works of Polykleitos.

W. Klein; *Praxiteles;* Veit & Co.; Leipzig. $6.00. The most exhaustive book on Praxiteles, advancing many as yet untested theories.

W. Klein; *Praxitelische Studien;* Veit & Co.; Leipzig. $0.90. Supplementary to the larger work by the same author.

A. Kalkmann, *Die Proportionen des Gesichtes;* Georg Reimer; Berlin.

H. Magnus; *Die Darstellung des Auges in der Antiken Plastik;* Seemann; Leipzig. $0.35.

J. Overbeck (collected by); *Die Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Bildenden Künste bei den Griechen;* Engelmann; Leipzig. $2.50. The untranslated references of ancient authors to Greek art collected and arranged. The serious student cannot do without this book . . . . . *S. Q.*

H. Stuart-Jones; *Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture;* The Macmillan Co.; New York. $1.50. This book is less comprehensive than the preceding. It is, however, very valuable because the Latin or Greek passages are given side by side with the English translations.
Stuart-Jones

L. Urlichs; *Skopas, Leben und Werke;* C. A. Koch; Greifswald. $1.50. Somewhat antiquated.

E. Löwy; *Lysipp und Seine Stellung zur Griechischen Plastik;* Richter; Hamburg. $0.35. Very sound.

Fr. Hauser; *Die Neuattischen Reliefs;* M. Wittwer; Stuttgart. $1.50. Invaluable.

Th. Schreiber; *Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder;* W. Engelmann; Leipzig. $9.00. Invaluable.

Franz Wickhoff, translated by Mrs. S. A. Strong; *Roman Art;* The Macmillan Co.; New York. $8.00. The fullest discussion of the principles of Roman art, but along lines that have found only partial approval . . . . . Wickhoff

A. Mau, translated by F. W. Kelsey; *Pompeii, Its Life and Art;* The Macmillan Co.; New York. $2.50 . . . . . Mau-Kelsey

Percy Gardner; *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas;* Macmillan & Co.; London. $8.00. Accurate and extremely interesting.

J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonography,* W. Speemann; Stuttgart. $24.50. " Indispensable for the study of Roman portraiture."

J. J. Bernoulli; *Griechische Ikonography;* W. Speemann; Stuttgart. " Indispensable for the study of Greek portraiture."

K. Jex-Blake and Eugenie Sellers; *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art;* The Macmillan Co.; New York. $3.50. Excellent.

E. Löwy; *Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer;* B. G. Teubner; Leipzig. $6.50. Invaluable to those who approach ancient sculpture through the study of individual artists.

R. Lepsius; *Griechische Marmorstudien;* Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 1890; Berlin. $1.50. " A treatise on the chief marble quarries in Greece and a scientific determination of the marbles employed in certain Greek statues." Accepted as correct by many, but not by all authorities.

Percy Gardner; *Types of Greek Coins;* The University Press; Cambridge, Eng. $8.00. Perhaps the best general book on ancient coins.

E. Babelon, *La Gravure en Pierres Fines;* Libraries Imprimies Réunies; Paris. $0.80. An interesting introduction.

A. Furtwängler; *Die Antiken Gemmen;* Giesecke und Devrient; Berlin and Leipzig. Almost an encyclopedia on gems.

H. Crosby Butler; *The Story of Athens;* The Century Co.; New York. $2.40. Very interesting.

E. A. Gardner; *Ancient Athens;* The Macmillan Co.; New York. $5.00. An excellent account of ancient Athens. The pictures, unfortunately, are poor.

R. Lanciani; *Rome in the Light of Discoveries;* Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; Boston. $6.00.

J. H. Middleton; *Ancient Rome;* A. & C. Black; London. $6.25.

Reference Books.

Salomon Reinach; *Repertoire de la Statuaire Grèque et Romaine.* Three volumes,[1] volume two in two parts. The first volume is a reprint of *Clarac* and is often called *Clarac de Poche;* E. Lerou; Paris. $4.00. A collection of outline reproductions of practically all known statues of Greek and Roman sculpture, well arranged. Invaluable. The references to Reinach will enable the student to see at a glance many statues similar to those under discussion . . . . . Reinach

A. Baumeister (edited by), *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums,* three volumes; R. Oldenbourg; Munich and Leipzig. $21.00. An excellent encyclopedia of ancient art, architecture, mythology and biography . . . . . Baumeister

Chas. B. Gulick; *The Life of the Ancient Greeks, with Especial Reference to Athens;* D. Appleton & Co.; New York. $1.40. An excellent handbook.

A. van Kampen; *Atlas Antiquus;* Justus Perthes; Gotha. $0.80. An excellent pocket atlas with index of about seven thousand names.

A. D. F. Hamlin; *A History of Architecture;* Longmans, Green & Co.; New York. An excellent handbook.

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[1] Volume III reached the author too late to enable him to insert many references in the Handbook.

CATALOGUES.

OF CASTS.

Carl Friederichs, revised and enlarged by Paul Wolters; *Die Gibsabgüsse Antiker Bildwerke in Historischer Folge Erklärt;* W. Speemann; Berlin. $3.00. A treasure-house of sane, sound, inspiring information. Invaluable to the student of art . F. W.

Edward Robinson; *Catalogue of Casts, Part III, Greek and Roman Sculpture, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;* Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; Boston. $0.50. Conveniently arranged. The information concerning provenience, restorations, etc., in small type preceding the discussions, is very valuable. The Boston Museum contains one of the best-selected collections of casts to be found anywhere . . . . . Robinson

OF ORIGINALS.

All the official catalogues.

The following unofficial catalogues:

W. Amelung; *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museum* (Part I ready) . . . . . Amelung

W. Amelung; *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz.*

H. Lechat; *Au Musée de l' Akropole d' Athènes.*

Th. Schreiber; *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi.*

Panofka und Gerhard; *Neapels Antike Bildwerke.*

Hübner; *Die Antiken Bildwerke in Madrid.*

W. Fröhner; *Sculpture Antique du Musée Imperial du Louvre.* Fröhner

Hettner; *Die Bildwerke der Kgl. Antiken Sammlung zu Dresden.*

W. Helbig; *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome* (translated by J. F. and F. Muirhead). The references are to the English edition where the numbers run slightly higher than in the German edition . . . . . Helbig

F. Matz and von Duhn; *Antike Bildwerke in Rom.*

O. Benndorf and R. Schöne; *Die Antiken Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museums.*

H. Dütschke; *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien.*

I. N. Svoronos; *Das Athener Nationalmuseum.* First two parts ready.

Archæological Publications of Importance

AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN REFERRING TO THEM.

America.

American Journal of Archæology, founded in 1885. Series I, Vols. I–XI (1896). Index to Series I . . . . . *A. J. A.*, Series I. Series II begins with Vol. I, 1897. Connected with the Journal: (*a*) Papers of American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Vols. I–VI (to 1897); (*b*) Reports of the Institute, beginning in 1879; (*c*) Papers of the School in Rome, Vol. I in press. *A. J. A.*

Records of the Past, published in Washington, D. C., since 1902.

England.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. I, published in 1880. Separate volumes of plates, I–VIII . . . . . *J. H. S.*

Annual of the British School at Athens. Vol. I, published for the year 1894–1895.

Papers of the British School at Rome. Vol. I, published in 1902.

Germany.

Earlier than 1886.

Archäologische Zeitung. Vol. I (published in 1843) to Vol. 43 (1885). Index Complete . . . . . *Arch. Zeit.*

Annali dell' Instituto. Published in Italian from 1829–1885. Index Complete . . . . . *Annali*

Note. The Archæological Institute at Rome was at first unofficial and international. Later it became the Imperial German Archæological Institute.

Monumenti Inediti, volumes of plates to accompany the Annali. *Mon. Ined.*

Mittheilungen Athenische, see also after 1886.
Bulletino, see Mittheilungen Römische, since 1886.

SINCE 1886.

Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. *Jahrbuch*

Archäologischer Anzeiger appears as an appendix to the Jahrbuch, but is paged separately . . . . . *Arch. Anz.*

Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung. This continues the Bulletino, which was published from 1829–1885 . . . . . *Röm. Mitth.*

Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung; founded in 1876, and continued with a slight change of title after 1886. Index to Vols. 1–20. *Athen. Mitth.*

Antike Denkmäler, a collection of valuable plates published at irregular intervals . . . . . *Ant. Denk.*

Ergänzungshefte, supplementary volumes, published by the German Institute at irregular intervals.

(Geschichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts von 1829–1879, von A. Michaelis.)

A number of valuable articles have appeared in the *Winkelmannsprogramms*, of which there are three kinds:

Programm zum Winckelmannfeste der Archæologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin. First number published in 1841.

Hallisches Winkelmannsprogramm, Vol. 1, published in 1876. Vols. 1–13 by H. Heydemann. Vols. 14–24 (the last one) by C. Robert.

Festschrift zu Winkelmanns Geburtstage herausgegeben vom Vorstande des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande, published from 1844–1888 at irregular intervals.

NOTE. Many philological journals print occasionally articles of archæological importance, notably *Hermes* and *Rheinisches Museum.*

Denkmäler der Griechischen und Römischen Skulptur, herausgegeben von H. Brunn, forgtesetzt von P. Arndt, published by Bruckmann in Munich. A collection of large plates . *Brunn-Arndt*

AUSTRIA.

Archæologische Epigraphische Mittheilungen. Vol. I, published in

1877, last volume (XX) in 1897. Index complete. This publication has been superseded by the following:

Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien. Vol. I, published in 1898 . . . . . *Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.*

France.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique. Vol. I, published in 1877. Index to the years 1877–1886 . . . . . *B. C. H.*

Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Important monographs, frequently published, Vol. 1 in 1877, Vol. 89 in 1904.

Histoire et l' Oeuvre de l' École Francaise d' Athènes par Georges Radet, 1901.

Revue Archéologique: Series I, 1844–1860. Series II, 1860–1882. Series III, 1883–1902. Series IV, 1903. Indexes complete to 1890 . . . . . *Rev. Arch.*

Gazette Archéologique. Vols. 1–14 (1875–1889). This journal is announced to resume publication . . . . . *Gaz. Arch.*

Gazette des Beaux Arts. Series I, 1859–1868. Series II, 1869–1888. Series III, 1889– . . . . . *Gaz. d. Beaux Arts*

Revue des Études Grecques. First volume published in 1888. *R. Ét. Gr.*

Italy.

Bulletino Archeologico Neapolitano. Series I, 1843–1848. Series II, 1853–1863. Separate volumes of plates.

Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale di Roma. Vol. I, published in 1872. Index, 1872–1885.

Publications of the Reale Academia dei Lincei Monumenti Antichi. Vol. 1, published in 1889, large plates and text. This publication continues the Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica, of which three volumes were published.

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, Vol. I, published in 1876. Index, 1876–1900.

Rendi Conti.

Greece.

Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας. Vol. 1, published in 1871 . . . . . *Practika*

Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική. Published at irregular intervals from 1837 to 1883, and since then yearly . . . . . *Ephemeris*

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